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The Contribution of Walter Lynwood Fleming to Southern Scholarship

By WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

It is hardly necessary to point out to this group¹ that any attempt to appraise the work of a man of our own generation must be made on a tentative basis. I suspect that a roll call of the members of this audience would reveal the fact that a majority knew Walter Lynwood Fleming personally, and that an imposing proportion could express a sense of obligation to him for assistance, encouragement, and inspiration. In spite of the lack of a long-time perspective on his work, however, there is a valid reason for including him for consideration in any program which deals with historians of the South. When it is realized that no less than ten books and one hundred and sixty-six articles and reviews published since 1901 are the product of his pen,² it becomes clear that if considered from the point of view of quantity alone, his work could not be ignored. Add to this the fact that every item published by him had a direct bearing on Southern history, and that he himself, by deliberate choice, spent his entire professional career in the South, and it becomes apparent that he belongs definitely to the Southern group. But the historian is probably more interested in the quality of his scholarship than in its quantity; and he will desire also to know something of the contribution made by the man, not only through his writings, but also through his administrative work and his personal influence on others.

¹ This paper was presented as part of a program on "Historians and Economists of the South," at the fourth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, in New Orleans, November 5, 1938.

² For a complete bibliography of Fleming's published works, together with a sketch of his career, see Fletcher M. Green, "Walter Lynwood Fleming: Historian of Reconstruction," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), II (1936), 497-521.

Although this is intended to be a study of his contribution rather than of his life, it seems necessary to present a brief biographical sketch to serve as the background. Born in 1874 in southeastern Alabama, he grew up on a farm and attended the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, where he received the bachelor's degree in 1896 and the master's degree in 1897. From 1896 to 1900, he served as librarian and instructor in English at Auburn, except for a brief period of service in the Spanish American War in 1898-1899, where he rose quickly from private to commissioned officer and brigade quartermaster. From 1900 to 1904, he was a graduate student at Columbia University, serving also as a part-time lecturer. He received the Ph.D. degree in history in 1904 and for the next three years was professor of history at West Virginia University. From 1907 to 1917 he was professor of history at Louisiana State University and in 1917 became professor of history at Vanderbilt University, where he served also, after 1923, as dean of the College of Arts and Science and chairman of the Social Science Division until failing health forced his retirement in 1929. From that time until his death, in 1932, illness made work impossible for him.

It is perhaps presumptuous for one who knew him only during these closing years to attempt a portrayal of his character for those who were intimately associated with him during his active work, and yet, for those who did not know him, the picture is not complete without some mention of his magnetic personality and his happy, friendly, and helpful disposition. He was a man of powerful physique who never took physical exercise (he frequently remarked that he had had his share of exercise as a growing boy and young man on the farm). He was unostentatious in bearing, but energetic and aggressive mentally. He possessed a keen sense of humor, an incisive and acquisitive intellect, and a spirit of tolerance. He was straightforward and honest in his dealings with others, but was impatient of mediocrity, pettiness, and indirection, and could be blunt and emphatic when the occasion demanded. He inspired confidence, and he had all the qualities of a born leader as long as he was sitting at a desk or a conference table. As soon as he got on his feet for an extemporaneous speech, no matter how brief, he became

so completely self-conscious that he was never able to speak clearly or effectively. For that reason, he consistently declined to accept invitations to speak, and pushed others forward to appear before the public in various capacities where he himself would have been expected to serve. In spite of this shortcoming, however, he won the admiration and respect of all with whom he was associated. The following quotation from an editorial in the Nashville *Banner* at the time of his death indicates the impression that he made on at least one individual. "Educator, scholar, and gentleman of the highest type, though he was, Dean Fleming's paramount achievement rested largely in his humanness. In him the true end of learning found its fullest expression. Everything he thought or expressed was tempered with the human attitude, and even when his mind was fully occupied with the most pressing of problems, he was never too busy to sit down for an informal chat with anyone who came to his office."³

On the score of scholarship, perhaps the first fact to be emphasized is the breadth of his training and his interests. As a student at Auburn, he had the good fortune to work under Professor George Petrie, who has recently been characterized as one of the greatest teachers that the South has produced.⁴ In going on from Auburn to Columbia, he carried Petrie's inspiration, and William A. Dunning supplemented this with his own inspirational teaching and guidance. Fleming recognized his debt to these two men by dedicating his two-volume *Documentary History of Reconstruction* to them jointly. But he also came under the influence of others at Columbia whose names stand high in the field of scholarship. Any man who had work under Herbert L. Osgood, James Harvey Robinson, and William M. Sloane in history, John W. Burgess and John Bassett Moore in government, Franklin H. Giddings in sociology, and Edwin R. A. Seligman in economics, was sure to come out, not with a mere formal training, but with an education which would lay the foundation for an appreciative approach to any phase of the broad

³ Nashville *Banner*, August 4, 1932; quoted also in Green, "Walter Lynwood Fleming," *loc. cit.*, 503.

⁴ See H. C. Nixon, "Colleges and Universities," in W. T. Couch (ed.), *Culture in the South* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 246.

field of culture. It is interesting to note that in both his writing and his teaching, Fleming showed unmistakable signs of having gained much from each of these men.

Anyone who undertakes to study Fleming's work as a scholar must begin by acknowledging indebtedness to Dr. Fletcher M. Green for his careful work in compiling a complete bibliography of Fleming's writings. As has been suggested, this list amounts to 176 items, exclusive of duplicates and reprints. It includes: six volumes of edited materials; four volumes as author, one of which was published posthumously; forty-four articles in professional journals; ten chapters in *The South in the Building of the Nation*; sixty sketches for encyclopedias, dictionaries, and other reference works; thirty-one book reviews; and twenty-one revisions and expansions of his earlier articles.

In order to distinguish, however, between quantity and quality, it is necessary to examine Fleming's more important works more or less critically. Three of his books may be said to stand out, not only in his own writing, but also in the broad field of American scholarship. His *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, published in 1905, was a development of his doctoral dissertation at Columbia, and it was immediately recognized as an outstanding contribution in the field of Southern history. One who reads it now is perhaps impressed by two characteristics. The first of these is the recurring evidence of Fleming's insight into broad problems of Southern history which led him to state generalizations more than thirty years ago which are now being tested and found sound in the light of careful research based on materials which were not known when Fleming wrote. A single illustration might be given in his statement that, "The effect of the abolition movement in the North was the destruction of the emancipation organizations in the South, and both friends and foes of the institution united on the defensive."⁵ The student of American history who has followed the re-evaluation of the abolition movement during the past ten years is at once struck by the fact that the general conclusions now being formulated are in a sense simply a verification of this statement made by Fleming in 1905.

⁵ *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 10.

The second striking characteristic of this book is the way in which it weaves the various threads of political, military, social, economic, educational, and religious problems into an integrated pattern which presents a composite picture of the whole society as a unit instead of leaving the reader looking at the individual threads lying side by side. When one recalls that the volumes of the *American Nation* series, being published at the same time, were making a great concession by including chapters on economic and social conditions without fitting them into the picture, the significance of Fleming's plan of organization becomes apparent. Here was a man just out of graduate school presenting in his doctoral dissertation the synthesis which had hitherto been expected only of experienced writers of general histories. Perhaps here were the individual influences of Dunning, Robinson, Burgess, Giddings, and Seligman being reflected collectively in the work of a man who had absorbed something from each of them.

In his next outstanding work, the *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, published in two volumes in 1906 and 1907, this same comprehensive plan was followed, with the result that one finds in it materials for the study of any aspect of the period covered. This book almost immediately became the most useful source book in that field of American history, both for classroom use and for research purposes, and the thirty years since its publication have not dimmed its value. It is perhaps significant that when, on rare occasions, a set falls into the hands of dealers it is priced at anywhere from fifty dollars upward.

His third outstanding work was the small volume in the *Chronicles of America* series, entitled *The Sequel of Appomattox*. Although forced by the requirements of the series to condense and to forego the use of extensive references, Fleming succeeded in this volume in presenting a synthesis of the ten years following the Civil War, not only in a charming style, but also in such a way as to meet the requirements of sound scholarship. In a sense, this might be considered as his own philosophy of Reconstruction, drawn from his earlier works, but it is actually more than that. It is an interpretation of the period.

One might take the time to examine all of Fleming's work carefully for the purpose of checking on his use of source materials, his method of citations, his application of principles of historical criticism, and his objectivity. If this were done, it seems safe to say that he would pass all such tests with colors flying. His *Documentary History* is itself source material, meticulously reproduced and carefully edited. The footnotes in his monographs show something like 90 per cent of references to primary materials, most of which had been used very little, if at all, when he wrote. His critical use of this material is clearly indicated in the information given concerning it both in the footnotes and in the text. For example, in discussing the growth of disaffection in North Alabama during the war, he summarizes the reports of two naval officers to the effect that the sentiment was overwhelmingly unionist, and says of one of them: "It may be that he mistook curiosity for 'Union' sentiment." He then adds: "Neither of these observers landed, and their observations were limited to the river banks."⁶

As for objectivity, it is, of course, extremely difficult to arrive at a final conclusion concerning the objectivity of any individual. In the first place, one must be sure of his own objectivity concerning the individual, and in the second place, he must answer the question as to whether the other fellow seems objective merely because his conclusions agree with one's own. It was probably more difficult for a Southerner to be objective about the Civil War and Reconstruction thirty years ago than now, and yet it can safely be asserted that Fleming, writing in the first decade of the twentieth century, was clearly more objective than many Southerners writing on Southern history in the fourth decade of the century. To claim that his sympathies were not with the South would be erroneous; but to say that he permitted those sympathies to undermine his objectivity would be misrepresentation. We know now that

⁶ *Ibid.*, 116. This suggestion of a quizzical attitude toward these observers was characteristic of his method. That his ridicule was not always veiled, however, is shown in his comment that the Rev. A. S. Lakin "told several marvelous stories of his hairbreadth escapes from death by assassination which, if true, would be enough to ruin the reputation of northern Alabama men for marksmanship." *Sequel of Appomattox* (New Haven, 1921), 208. See, also, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 639.

in most cases where he seemed to be critical of Reconstruction policies or practices, subsequent scholarship has substantiated the validity of his criticism.

It is only by rearranging the bibliography of his writings in chronological rather than alphabetical order, that one can obtain anything like an adequate conception of certain aspects of Fleming's work. Such an arrangement, for example, reveals unmistakable evidence of a gradual development of each hypothesis running through the sequence of his publications; and it becomes clear that he repeatedly tried out his materials in a tentative form before committing them to book form. For example, between 1901 and 1905, he published eighteen articles on various specific problems connected with the Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama, all of which were later to appear in either expanded or modified form in his book on that subject. He went farther than this, however, in showing that to him the mere publication of an article did not mean the completion of that particular study. For the average graduate student, the acceptance of an article for publication in the *American Historical Review* might have been construed as the attainment of finality on that subject; but not so for Fleming. In October, 1901, that journal published his article on "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," but three years later he published a revision of the study under the same title in the Alabama Historical Society *Transactions*, in which he added much new material and modified some of his earlier conclusions. One other case also deserves mention. In 1905, he presented a paper on the Freedmen's Savings Bank before the American Historical Association. In the following year, he published in the *Yale Review* an article in two parts on the same subject, in which he added materially to the earlier treatment, and in 1927 this twelve thousand word article was expanded into a thirty thousand word book in which he gives definite evidence of a willingness to change earlier conclusions or emphasis, and to supply additional information.

In fact, this practice illustrates his adherence to a conviction that the interests of historical scholarship could be better promoted by presenting tentative or preliminary conclusions from time to time than by waiting

until the last word could be said before putting anything into print. For this reason, one can use the year by year record of his publications as a forecast of his more important works. It is interesting to find that just as the series of articles before 1905 was pointing toward the publication of his *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* and his *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, so, in 1908, there began to appear articles on various phases of the career of Jefferson Davis which marked the beginning of his plan to write a biography of the Confederate leader; a plan which, as you know, he did not succeed in carrying out, although he never gave up the idea. As late as 1928, in the last annual report which he made to Chancellor Kirkland at Vanderbilt University, he stated that he hoped to devote much of the next year to his biography of Davis, "on which," he said, "I have been at work for the last twenty years."

At one period he seems to have considered the possibility of a sociological and economic study of the New South, and it is interesting to find among the titles of his articles from 1905 to 1908 the following: "Immigration into the Southern States," "The Servant Problem in a Black Belt Village," "The Religious and Hospitable Rite of Feet Washing," "The Re-Organization of the Industrial System in Alabama," "Italian Farm Labor in the South," all of them either sociological or economic, rather than historical, in emphasis. One finds also that on turning in 1909 to the writing of a history of Louisiana State University, he began almost immediately to publish articles on special phases, and that one by-product took form in 1912 as the book on *General W. T. Sherman as College President*.

One other important fact becomes apparent from a chronological rather than an alphabetical arrangement of his publications. On the basis of the alphabetical list, the statement has been made that "with one or two exceptions all were written in the twenty-five years between 1903 and 1928."⁷ A record of his published items arranged according to the years of publication reveals that out of a grand total of approximately five thousand printed pages of scholarly writings (exclusive of

⁷ Green, "Walter Lynwood Fleming," *loc. cit.*, 521.

book reviews and reference sketches), slightly more than four thousand were published before 1913. In other words, instead of saying the twenty-five years from 1903 to 1928, one should really say the ten years from 1903 through 1912 for the publication of 80 per cent of his work. In fact, his total for the year 1905, alone, exceeds by nearly one hundred pages the total for the last fifteen years of his active life, even if we include the posthumously published *History of Louisiana State University*.

Just what this picture means, it would be difficult to say. One could compare the list through 1912, showing six volumes in book form and a flood of articles ranging from three to ten items a year, with the record of the fifteen years from 1913 through 1927, showing never more than one item per year and seven years with nothing appearing in print from his pen, and draw the conclusion that here was the picture of a man who had literally burned himself out intellectually within the space of ten years. In Fleming's case, however, this would not be a just conclusion. It is necessary to remember that by 1912 he had become recognized as one of the constructive leaders of the Louisiana State University faculty, and that he was being drawn more and more into administrative responsibilities. There seems to be something incompatible in the attempt to mix scholarship and administration. A sound scholar is concerned primarily with a conscientious attempt to obtain all the evidence on a given subject and to examine it carefully and critically before arriving at a conclusion. This means a deliberative, long-time process. The administrator, on the other hand, is called upon day after day to make decisions under stress, without having time to obtain all the evidence or even to reflect deliberately on that which he may have. It is the rare individual who can carry a program of scholarly research on one shoulder and the responsibility for meeting administrative emergencies on the other.

As Fleming was drawn more and more into administrative problems, he found it necessary to postpone again and again his proposed study on Jefferson Davis. That he, himself, realized the dilemma is shown by the fact that his willingness to leave Louisiana State University to go to

Vanderbilt in 1917 grew out of a conviction that he could not break away from administrative duties as long as he stayed at Baton Rouge, and that he could not proceed with his research interests as long as he was involved in administrative duties. The irony of the situation is apparent when one examines his career at Vanderbilt. Instead of getting away from administrative work, he found himself more deeply enmeshed than ever before; and it was not his nature to shun a task which he realized needed to be done. His real contribution at Vanderbilt, therefore, was not so much in the field of scholarship as in the field of administration, even though the primary objective of his administrative work was to improve the opportunities for scholarship at his institution. He sensed at once the serious shortcomings in the work in the social sciences at Vanderbilt and concentrated his attention first of all in strengthening the staff and the resources in that field, with the result that, at the end of his service, the staff had been increased from himself and two other men to a well-balanced group of twenty-one men in the Social Science Division.

He also became instrumental in promoting the development of the program of graduate work, and to him almost alone must go the credit for laying the foundation on which the present graduate school at Vanderbilt has been based. Through his ability to formulate reasonable but comprehensive plans, he was able to attract funds from the Rockefeller Foundation for improving the resources in the social sciences, while he also did as much as anyone to promote the development of the other broad fields of university work. It is too soon, of course, to attempt a final estimate of the importance to the South of his contribution in the field of administration, even if the proper person were at hand to undertake it.

On the score of scholarship and of inspiration, however, it may be safer to generalize on his influence. There can be little question of the permanence of his influence as a productive scholar. His published works alone assure this because of the objectivity of his method and the importance of his emphasis upon the interrelation of all aspects of Southern life. Here he not only set an example which is already being

followed by other historians of the region, but he also stated many of the general hypotheses on which they are working.

Somewhat less tangible, but none the less real, is the influence which he had in preparing others for work in the field. In order to understand the importance of this influence, it must be examined from a somewhat unorthodox point of view. In the first place, we have become so accustomed to estimating a man's influence on the next generation of scholarship by looking at the contributions of those who received their professional training under him, that we sometimes overlook another important consideration. We speak of "Dunning men," or "Turner men," for example, without stopping to ask where many of those men received the inspiration which sent them to Dunning or Turner. Who can say that Petrie made no contribution to historical scholarship because Fleming received his doctorate under Dunning? Without the Petries in numerous institutions whose resources do not permit the development of a graduate program, the graduate schools of the country might find it difficult to survive.

It was in this way that one of Fleming's most significant contributions was made. In fact, it is somewhat startling to realize that he never had an opportunity to direct the work of a graduate student through the Ph.D. program. The nearest approach was the late Carl Driver, who finished his dissertation shortly after Fleming's breakdown, and who survived his teacher by only four years. Thus, there is no man in the profession who can say, "I received my degree under Fleming," and yet letters on file in his personal correspondence show that there are dozens of men in university and college teaching and in research in the South who have testified that they received their initial interest in their work from the inspiration of his classroom or of informal conferences with him. Not only did he send men to graduate schools with their research projects already tentatively outlined, but as his plans for graduate work in his own institution began to materialize, the organization and direction of the program as a whole demanded so much of his attention that he found it necessary to turn over to his colleagues the direction of the students themselves. Yet it was he who selected the students,

advised them in choosing a field of research, and guided them to the men under whom they were to work; and, as long as he was active, it was to him that they went for advice and further inspiration, regardless of whether their field was history, literature, or the sciences.

A second important influence which he exerted upon the development of scholarship in the South is closely linked up with his administrative work; and here, too, the contribution can be understood best by departing from the traditional line of approach. The new generation of trained scholars is inclined to take the graduate school for granted, and it rarely stops to consider that men like Dunning and Turner could do what they did partly because the stage had already been set for them. But a generation ago no such stage existed in the South, with the result that many capable Southern men who were fortunate left the region for their graduate study and few came back, while many another, perhaps equally capable but less fortunate, was never able to reach the full height of his possibilities. Fleming was one of the few who came back, not of necessity but of deliberate choice; and he came back with a vision. For twenty years, he thought, talked, and planned for the development of centers for graduate study in the South. To say that he alone was responsible for the establishment of those graduate schools which now exist in the region would be claiming too much; but that he was one of the leaders in that farsighted group of pioneers who promoted the movement cannot be denied. Any attempt to measure the individual contribution of any member of the group would be as futile as to try to predict exactly what will be the cumulative effect of the movement itself upon the future civilization of the South.

Returning, therefore, to my opening statement that it is still too soon to attempt anything more than a tentative estimate of the importance of Fleming's work, I should like to close by suggesting that perhaps the clue to the ultimate appraisal will have to be found by following the plan which he himself used in his writings; that is, by looking at his scholarship, his inspirational influence, and his administrative program, not as unrelated units, but as the three principal elements whose interrelations will determine the final character of the pattern.

Southern Investments in Northern Lands before the Civil War

By PAUL WALLACE GATES

Investments by the people of one section of the United States in the enterprises of other sections is a phase of American economic history that has been little studied.¹ Northern investments in Southern and Western states have received some attention but they deserve further examination. That Southern² capital in considerable amounts was invested in public lands of the Northwestern states will come to many as a surprise. The amount of this investment and the fact that it was made by the people of a section ordinarily thought to have no surplus capital should warrant some study.³

The ante-bellum South could easily have absorbed all the funds owned by its residents. The new cotton, rice, and sugar producing areas, the railroad⁴ and canal companies, banking, commerce, and manufacturing

¹ Acknowledgment is made to the Social Science Research Council for the financial aid which made possible the research for this article.

² It is understood that the terms "South" and "Southern" as used in this article refer to that section below the Mason and Dixon Line.

³ Southern investments in Northern securities—except securities of land companies—are not considered in this study, but it is only fair to point out that such investments were made. Southerners in 1820 owned over one half the stock in the second United States Bank which was held privately in the United States. In 1832 the South's share in the Bank was valued at \$10,000,000. Ralph C. H. Catterall, *Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, 1903), 508. Representative Thomas H. Bayley of Virginia and Corcoran and Riggs of Washington held considerable blocks of Illinois bonds, and James S. Easley of Virginia, in addition to large land investments in the Northwest, instructed his agent to invest collections in the stock of the La Crosse and Milwaukee Railroad. Bayley to Corcoran and Riggs, November 4, 1852; Winslow and Lanier and Company to *id.*, November 25, 26, 28, December 19, 1851, Corcoran MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress); James S. Easley to Peters, Campbell and Company, October 6, 1857, Easley Letter Books, Easley MSS. (University of Virginia Library).

⁴ Thomas P. Kettell pointed out in 1860 that capital was accumulating in the South and

all called for additional capital and promised, perhaps, as much security and as good returns as investments in land in the Northwest. Despite such local needs many residents of the older Southern states and, indeed, of some of the newer slave states turned their backs upon their section and invested their surplus funds in the rapidly growing commonwealths north of the Ohio.

There were three major periods during which the fever of land speculation swept over the country: 1816-1819, 1833-1837, and 1854-1857. In the first period it was Alabama and Ohio that chiefly attracted speculators; in the second period, Michigan, Mississippi, Illinois, and Indiana; and in the third, Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri. Although there was a large investment of Virginia and Kentucky capital in the Virginia Military Tract of Ohio before 1820,⁵ Southern investments in Northern lands were made chiefly in the two later periods. The following indictment of the speculative craze of the thirties was penned by William J. Grayson of South Carolina who, in 1836, participated in the mad rush for land in Indiana:⁶

The restless spirit which had threatened to overthrow the republic took a new direction, and displayed itself in another form. A rage for speculating in land sprang up and extended over the whole country. Men, women, and children, clergy and laity, plunged into the current flowing with promises of universal wealth. The mania raged for a year or two, until the recurrence of a commercial crisis, with its customary thunders and lightnings, purified the atmosphere, and left all parties astonished, dismayed and ruined.

Outstanding among the intersectional investments were those made by three large planters of Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana. The

that the railroads in that area, unlike those in the West, had been constructed with local funds. *Southern Wealth and Northern Profits* . . . (New York, 1860), 50, 88, 98, 137-38. It appears that this was not true of the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad for which a loan of \$2,000,000 was negotiated in England in 1838. Cincinnati *Chronicle*, quoted in *Indiana Farmer* (Indianapolis, 1837-1841), II (1838), 68.

⁵ William T. Hutchinson, "The Bounty Lands of the American Revolution in Ohio," MSS. (University of Chicago Library).

⁶ William J. Grayson, *James Louis Petigru* (New York, 1866), 135-36. While a member of Congress, Grayson invested \$10,000 in Indiana lands through Henry L. Ellsworth, one of the largest individual owners of prairie lands in the Northwest. Some 7,000 acres in northern Indiana, most of which was in Benton County, were bought. Sales were slow

Cabell family possessed wide estates in the Old Dominion and one of its members—Landon Rose Cabell⁷—invested a large sum in Indiana lands in 1835. In association with Henry L. Brooke, a distinguished member of the Richmond bar, and Philip M. Tabb,⁸ Cabell bought 22,500 acres⁹ at the auction sale at La Porte where the lands of northwestern Indiana were for the first time made available for purchase. To this sale came many Indiana bankers prepared to snap up likely sections or to lend their funds to squatters at the usual frontier interest rates of 24 to 48 per cent. Henry L. Ellsworth,¹⁰ Federal commissioner of patents and one of Indiana's great land barons, Henry King,¹¹ Pennsylvania capitalist, and that most denounced of frontier characters, the "loan shark," in the person of Lyne Starling,¹² formerly of Kentucky, were also in attendance. The rush for land and the presence of so many competing capitalists aroused keen excitement and raised the selling price well above normal. The three Virginia associates had to pay as high as \$9.05 per acre for some tracts although the average was about \$1.75.¹³ Their investment was a pure speculation and none of the three apparently intended to settle upon the lands. They made a contract with Jesse Roberts of St. Joseph, Missouri, for the management of their property. Roberts undertook to prevent trespass and pillage and to effect sales,

and in 1850, despairing of a better bargain, Grayson sold his interest to Ellsworth for \$13,312. Benton County (Indiana) Deed Records, II.

⁷ Alexander Brown, *The Cabells and their Kin* (Boston, 1895), 397.

⁸ "First real estate commission contract, dated September 26, 1836, recorded November 23, 1836, Stark County Records," William H. Mathew Notes, MSS. (Indiana State Library).

⁹ All details of land entries in this article, unless otherwise stated, are compiled from the entry books, too numerous to list here, in the general land office, department of the interior. The principal types of entry books are the cash, military warrants, and scrip abstracts.

¹⁰ Claribel R. Barnett, "Henry Leavitt Ellsworth," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), VI, 110-11.

¹¹ *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Pennsylvania of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1874), 17.

¹² Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, 2 vols. (Norwalk, Ohio, 1896-1898), I, 649.

¹³ The Indianapolis *Indiana Democrat*, October 14, 1835, spoke of the "immense crowd" which attended the sale and added, "the settlers generally got their homes at or near congress price." On February 15, 1837, it observed that much of the 474,000 acres sold in the district in the previous year went into the hands of speculators.

in return for which he would receive one fourth of all proceeds, after deducting costs and interest. The lands selected by Cabell and his associates were doubtless representative of the area but they probably needed draining before they could be farmed or sold and the price paid for them was not justified, as subsequent events were to show. Ten years later much of the land was tax delinquent and advertised for sale.¹⁴

In the same year that Cabell and his associates plunged so heavily in Indiana land, Wade Hampton (1791-1858),¹⁵ owner of cotton plantations in both the tidewater and piedmont sections of his native state as well as sugar plantations in Louisiana, made a modest investment in Wisconsin. In October and November, he attended the sales at Green Bay and entered 2,080 acres.

The newer South also provided the funds for a large intersectional investment made by a Louisiana planter, E. E. Malhiot. An exile from Canada because of his participation in the Rebellion of 1837, he established himself in the Parish of Assumption on Bayou Lafourche, where he acquired and developed an extensive sugar plantation. Malhiot won the confidence and respect of the "Cajuns" among whom he settled and was elected by them in 1856 to the Louisiana Senate.¹⁶ Not content with his sugar plantation, he undertook in the same year to establish a modified form of a Canadian seignior in central Illinois. From the Illinois Central Railroad he bought 22,000 acres of land upon which he colonized a hundred or more families of French Canadians. The settlement was a success but Malhiot's trials with his tenants and with his railroad creditor were many and lengthy. Until his death he continued to manage his varied interests in Louisiana and Illinois.¹⁷ The Civil War did not prevent him from operating his estates both in the Union and in the

¹⁴ Supplement to the *St. Joseph Valley Register*, undated (Indiana State Library).

¹⁵ J. Harold Easterby, "Wade Hampton," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 213-15.

¹⁶ Ivanhoe Caron, "Eduard-Elisee Malhiot," in Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions* (Ottawa, Montreal, 1882-), 3rd Ser., XXII (1928), sec. 1, pp. 155-66.

¹⁷ Paul W. Gates, *The Illinois Central Railroad and its Colonization Work* (Cambridge, 1934), 131, 236-38, 296.

Confederacy,¹⁸ and his property in neither camp was threatened with confiscation as were the Northern possessions of many Southerners.

Although much of the domestic and foreign trade of the ante-bellum South was in the hands of outsiders, there were numerous Southern fortunes made in commerce. In Baltimore,¹⁹ in the early part of the nineteenth century, the firm of William Wilson and Sons owned a fleet of ships engaged in trade with China, India, Europe, and South America. "This eminent shipping firm,"²⁰ experiencing the same decline in profits which affected the New England-China trade, gradually withdrew from commerce and invested its funds in banking, local real estate, and Western lands. In 1836 it bought 3,776 acres in the Springfield, Illinois, district. James B. Danforth, who had a wholesale and merchandising business in Louisville, Kentucky, also made a speculation in Illinois. Instead of buying land, Danforth subscribed \$10,000 to the capital stock of the New York and Boston Illinois Land Company²¹ which was organized in 1835 to buy and sell lands in the Military Tract of Illinois. This company, of which Danforth was a trustee, claimed to own 900,000 acres.

Before 1850 there was perhaps no state in which so much absentee-owned capital had been invested as in Illinois, and certainly in no part of that state except the Military Tract was there a greater concentration of "alien" ownership than in the Springfield land district. Between 1833 and 1837 over 7,000,000 acres were sold in this district, a large proportion of which was bought by nonresidents. Many Southerners in addition to the firm of William Wilson and Sons were attracted to the Springfield district. Some of the purchases made by Southerners are listed below:²²

¹⁸ W. H. Osborn to General W. K. Strong, March 29, 1862, and *id.* to J. M. Douglass, "Presidents' Letters" (Sixty-third Street Archives, Illinois Central Railroad, Chicago).

¹⁹ Another Baltimore resident not elsewhere mentioned in this article who bought land in the Northwest was John M. Gordon who entered 6,764 acres in Michigan in 1836.

²⁰ George W. Howard, *The Monumental City. Its Past History and Present Resources* (Baltimore, 1873-1880), 470-71.

²¹ *Articles of Association of the New York and Boston Illinois Land Company: Amendments . . .* (Philadelphia, 1839); J. Stoddard Johnston, *Memorial History of Louisville*, 2 vols. (Chicago, n.d. [1896?]), I, 383, 397.

²² Compiled from abstracts of Springfield land office.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Acres</i>
William Brown	Harrison County, Kentucky	1833	4000
Drury J. Field	Fayette County, Tennessee	1836	8414
Field and Holloway .	Richmond County, Kentucky . . .	1836	1611
Robert Goggin	Madison County, Kentucky	1836	1566
Henry H. Hall	Accomac County, Virginia	1833-34	5080
Daniel Huey	Mississippi	1835	4220
Mayer and Harwood .	Baltimore, Maryland	1836	1293
James Ross	Montgomery County, Tennessee .	1835	1360
Nathaniel A. Ware ²³		1833	21400
Isaac Williams	Huntsville, Alabama	1835	1480
David Zeller	Washington County, Maryland .	1835	2169

Perhaps the most fortunate Southern investment in this district was made in 1836 for the estate of A. Hamilton, formerly of Bath County, Kentucky. John and Joseph Berry, likewise of Bath County, entered some 7,353 acres in the Springfield district of which 4,161 acres in Sangamon County were entered for the Hamilton estate. The title to the 4,161 acres was in dispute between the Hamilton and Berry heirs until 1876 when George H. and James C. Hamilton were awarded the entire tract with reasonable expenses to the Berrys for their management.²⁴ The following year the tract was sold to William Scully, the greatest landlord in Illinois, for \$215,297.²⁵ The Berrys kept a part of their other entries as late as 1894 at which time they held at least 1,783 acres in Sangamon County.²⁶

The extent of early North Carolina commerce, we are now told, has been underestimated by historians.²⁷ Certainly one North Carolinian, Miles White,²⁸ who moved to Elizabeth City in 1830, built up a "large coasting and West India trade" from which he made a comfortable fortune. In 1849 he retired from shipping and moved to Baltimore where

²³ Ware is variously listed in the Sangamon County Deed Records from St. Louis, Natchez, and Hinds County, Mississippi.

²⁴ 43 Mortgage Record, Sangamon County, Register of Deeds Office, 563.

²⁵ 61 Deed Record, *loc. cit.*, 11.

²⁶ *The Plat Book of Sangamon County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1894), shows Joseph A. Berry owning 1,491 acres, John S. Berry 193 acres, and J. H. Berry 199 acres.

²⁷ Charles C. Crittenden, *The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789* (New Haven, 1936), 72 *et passim*.

²⁸ Howard, *Monumental City*, 628-30; Henry Hall, *America's Successful Men of Affairs*, 2 vols. (New York, 1895-1896), II, 861.

he engaged in the land business. White and his son Elias purchased extensive Baltimore property, but more interesting for our purposes are their Western land ventures. From 1849 to 1860 they spent a good deal of their time in Iowa and other Northwestern states looking over lands for investments, lending money to desperate squatters who stood to lose their homes at the approaching sales unless they could borrow sufficient to buy their claims, and making agreements with local agents to look after their lands, pay the taxes, collect payments, and reinvest receipts. Their total entries made for themselves and others approximated 175,000 acres and literally dot the abstract books of the land offices of Iowa, where the largest proportion was made. The risks were great and the profits high, in good times, but the panic of 1857 and the resulting depression made it difficult for the claim holders to meet their payments and in many cases they not only defaulted on their contracts but abandoned their claims. However, Iowa lands have generally been a good investment and the Whites did not have to wait long before their holdings were again in demand. Like so many other absentee speculators, the Whites fared badly in Wisconsin where they entered some 12,000 acres.²⁹ Their agent proved untrustworthy, neglected their lands, and permitted them to go to tax sale.³⁰

Perhaps the largest land business in the South and one of the most significant in the entire country was operated by Easley and Willingham of Halifax Court House, Virginia, a few miles from the North Carolina line. James S. Easley, the more active partner in the land business, was a member of the merchandising and importing firm of Easley and Holt, the funds and credit of which were used by Easley and Willingham to deal extensively in lands. It was not the simple act of buying lands in

²⁹ There is considerable correspondence concerning White's ventures in Wisconsin lands in the Woodman MSS. (Wisconsin State Historical Society Library).

³⁰ The Whites have remained in the Western land business to this day. The business passed from Miles and Elias White to Francis White and from him to Miles White, Jr., who still manages the "few scattered lots" remaining. Miles White, Jr., to the writer, Baltimore, Maryland, September 21, 1937. White has an extensive collection of documents dealing with the family land business. Included therein are the sales books, tax books, tax receipts, and a large amount of miscellaneous material concerned with the land affairs. Towards the latter part of the century, the sale of city lots in numerous Western cities seemed to be almost as important to the Whites as was the disposal of their farm lands.

advance of settlement and holding them for a profitable sale that attracted them, although they did speculate in this manner. They also purchased military land warrants in the East and resold them through their Western agents for a quick profit. The largest and most lucrative part of their business was the entering of lands for squatters who had made some improvements upon their claims. Either through their numerous Western agents, or personally on their frequent trips through the Western states, Easley and Willingham contracted with some 2,000 squatters to enter their lands for them on what they called the "time entry" business. The title was taken in the firm's name and the contract provided for the payment at the end of one year of \$140 for 80 acres, \$210 for 120 acres, and \$280 for 160 acres. The squatter also had to pay the land office fees. Where the partners contracted directly with the squatters for their entries, and payments were made promptly at the end of the year, the profit might run as high as 75 per cent;⁸¹ where the business was conducted through an agent \$10 might be allowed as compensation, but some agents insisted on an equal division of the profits after the firm had charged 10 per cent interest on the warrant, thereby reducing the latter's profit to a mere 42 per cent. It may have been of Easley and Willingham that a local historian wrote:⁸²

. . . many of the early settlers were not men of great financial standing. . . and to procure their homes they would permit Mr. Shylock to enter the land in his own name, and . . . the settler would repurchase it . . . [from] the money lender, allowing and promising him forty per cent per annum on the \$200 until paid . . . the money-lender who had come west with a pocket full of land warrants, which had cost him ninety cents an acre, if the squatter paid at the end of two and a half years, was getting \$400 for an outlay of \$144. That these entries would be eaten up by usury and tax was most evident, unless the location was of such character and worth as to command an immediate sale, which in the fewer instances happened, but in the most cases, the land remained in the name of the party furnishing the warrants for entry.

During the years 1852 to 1857 Easley and Willingham's Western land business prospered and their profits were reinvested in additional lands.

⁸¹ The claims were entered with military warrants, the market price of which ranged from 90 cents to \$1.15 for most of the period.

⁸² Joe H. Smith, *History of Harrison County, Iowa* (Des Moines, 1888), 100.

They also invested substantial sums for or in co-operation with other Virginians, notably Daniel B. Easley, brother of James, John D. Holt, Thomas Leigh, Thomas E. Owens, Evan Raglund, and George Carrington. Altogether this group entered upwards of 350,000 acres in Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska, a volume of entries probably exceeding that made by any similar group before the Civil War. The panic of 1857 slowed up their operations; squatters defaulted, payments became delinquent, credit extensions had to be made, and in many cases the lands were abandoned by their tenants. This Virginia group thus became one of the largest landholders in the above mentioned states, excluding of course the land grant railroads, and the land business absorbed its attention throughout the century.³³

In the mid-nineteenth century the loose banking laws which prevailed made it easy for people with some influence but little capital to establish banks of deposit, the funds of which were available for investment in speculative enterprises. It is not surprising, therefore, that numerous Southern bankers, attracted by the high interest rates and profits in land speculation, invested no small portion of their funds in Northern lands. The investments of the banking firm of Pairo and Nourse of Washington illustrate this tendency. In the early fifties, Charles Pairo entered either personally or through agents 40,000 acres of land in sixteen districts in the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Such far-flung activities made supervision difficult. But worse still, Pairo overextended his investments, and when payments and sales declined in 1857, the firm was forced to suspend. Its balance sheet showed liabilities of \$200,000 and assets of \$413,000 of which \$218,000 was in Western lands.³⁴ The failure of this firm led the *National Intelligencer* to reflect upon the evils of speculation and to warn other institutions against "a further indulgence in Western lands."³⁵

The suspension of Pairo and Nourse led to runs on other Washington

³³ This account is based on a large collection of manuscripts of James Stone Easley and of the firm of Easley and Willingham in the Library of the University of Virginia.

³⁴ Washington *National Intelligencer*, September 15-19, 1857.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, September 19, 1857.

banks, especially that of Sweeny, Rittenhouse, and Fant, which dealt in land warrants and lent money for land investments in Kansas. Hamilton G. Fant of this firm had not only lent money on Kansas land at 50 per cent interest but also had purchased Leavenworth lots through his Western agent, Thomas Ewing, Jr.³⁶ The firm also co-operated with E. L. Fant and Company of Lecompton, Kansas.³⁷ The banking house of William T. Smithson of Washington was likewise dealing in land warrants and Western lands. In 1856 it advertised to buy "150,000 acres of land warrants for which . . . [it would] pay the highest market price."³⁸ The following year it advertised for sale "several thousand acres of fine lands" in Iowa and thirty or forty lots in Chicago.³⁹ Although forced to curtail operations by the panic of 1857, these firms remained solvent during the ensuing depression.⁴⁰

The most influential Washington banker and the most inveterate land speculator was William W. Corcoran.⁴¹ Through his intimate relations with prominent Democratic politicians, among them Robert J. Walker, Jesse Bright, Stephen A. Douglas, R. M. T. Hunter, and John Forney, Corcoran received from the Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan administrations many favors, the greatest of which was the financing of the government's Mexican War loans. Corcoran invested a portion of the profits from these banking and brokerage plums in numerous land speculations. Over a period of years the treasury department had accumulated unde-

³⁶ Thomas Ewing, Jr., to H. B. Denman, Leavenworth, Kansas, July 21, 1857, and *id.* to Fant, Ewing Letter Books (in possession of Thomas Ewing, Jr.). This collection contains considerable correspondence on the investments of Hamilton G. Fant in and around the growing city of Leavenworth.

³⁷ Advertisement of E. L. Fant, Jr., and Company, *Washington National Intelligencer*, March 18, 1857.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, December 24, 1856.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1857.

⁴⁰ John Underwood of Washington, like Fant and Smithson, dealt extensively in land warrants which he was prepared to sell or locate on Wisconsin lands. In 1850 he sent thirty 160 acre warrants to Albert W. Parris, his Wisconsin agent, for location or sale. John Underwood to Moses M. Strong, Washington, December 28, 1850, Strong MSS. (Wisconsin State Historical Society Library). Underwood also made an investment in lands in Indiana with H. L. Ellsworth.

⁴¹ The sketch of Corcoran by William B. King, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 440-41, is conventional and trite. The author did not even list, to say nothing of using, the great collection of Corcoran MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

veloped lands, town lots, and other miscellaneous property through forfeiture by defaulting Federal officers, such as Samuel Swartwout, and their bondsmen. Many of these defalcations came to light during the panic of 1837 but it was not until 1847 that business conditions justified the government in offering the property for sale. Press advertisements gave descriptions of the lands and invited bids for them.⁴² Corcoran, who was a large creditor of Secretary of the Treasury Walker, submitted bids ranging from 2 cents per acre for 45,000 acres of Texas lands to 38 cents per acre for 15,800 acres in Mississippi, 22,000 in Illinois, 2,240 in Michigan, and 41 cents for 2,800 in Indiana, and was generally successful against competitors who might bid higher for small portions of individual lots.⁴³ In addition to getting title to 103,000 acres of land, he secured lots in eight cities, among them New York. Most valuable were the lands in Illinois⁴⁴ which within a few years were selling for \$5 and \$10 per acre. Unfortunately for Corcoran, the quitclaim title which the government gave him was defective since the dower rights of the wives of the defaulted officers or their bondsmen had not been conveyed, and this defect created many difficulties in the management of the lands. So many title controversies arose that he feared in 1857 he would never recover "cost and interest."⁴⁵ Notwithstanding his early fears, his agent valued the remaining unsold lands acquired at a cost of less than \$25,000 at \$578,033, of which title to lands valued at \$159,145 was clear.⁴⁶

⁴² Washington *National Intelligencer*, August 24, 1847.

⁴³ All bids are found in the "Bid Book," archives, Solicitor's Office, Treasury Department, Washington.

⁴⁴ Corcoran had earlier engaged in a land venture in Illinois with Amos Kendall which, by 1853, was producing considerable in the form of rents. With money furnished by Corcoran, 1,580 acres were purchased privately in 1839 in Sangamon, Logan, and Menard counties. The lands were subsequently divided, Corcoran keeping his for the rents he received and Kendall selling his share in the fifties and sixties for as high as \$13 per acre. Amos Kendall to Corcoran, May 18, 1841, January 16, 1844, January 16, 1848, and Corcoran to Kendall, January 31, 1848, November 17, 1852, and January 1, 1853, Corcoran MSS.; also numerous conveyances in the Sangamon and Logan County Deed Records between Corcoran and Kendall and others.

⁴⁵ Corcoran to Captain J. B. Russell of Chicago, Illinois, November 16, 1857, Letter Book, Corcoran MSS.

⁴⁶ Letter Book No. 26, p. 61, Corcoran MSS. These figures include some lands which were acquired subsequent to 1847 but they may not be greater than the value of those of the original purchase which had been sold.

Corcoran's other land speculations, though smaller, looked at the outset exceedingly promising. He had the largest share in the promotion of the city of Superior, Wisconsin, which was projected as the Eastern terminus of the Northern transcontinental railroad and he financed the shares of such Southerners as Senator Hunter of Virginia, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, and Walker, formerly of Mississippi, then of Washington, as well as those of Douglas, Bright, Forney, and W. A. Richardson.⁴⁷ Two South Carolina congressmen, William W. Boyce and William Aiken, also had small investments in Superior.⁴⁸ This city was subsequently displaced by Duluth as the chief port on the lake, not so much because of the better natural advantages of the latter as because Jay Cooke had supplanted Corcoran after 1860 as the favorite banker of the national administration, and Cooke was a promoter of Duluth. Corcoran also made purchases of land in Illinois with Representative Orlando B. Ficklin, in Indiana with Bright, in Kansas with Major George Deas, and in Arkansas with Bright and Dr. C. B. Mitchell.⁴⁹

Corcoran's Washington partner, George W. Riggs,⁵⁰ also made investments in Western lands. In 1858 he entered in St. Croix and Dunn counties, Wisconsin, 9,240 acres. Previously he had aided other members of his family in speculations in Illinois.

Another Southern banker whose land investments are worthy of notice is Joseph B. Loose of Hagerstown, Maryland. In 1834 Loose went to Michigan where he invested his capital and that of his family in public lands, acquiring thereby over 4,000 acres. He then went on to Springfield, Illinois, where he took up his residence, established a bank and with its funds invested largely in Illinois lands and Springfield and Chicago real estate. Loose was fortunate enough to make excellent

⁴⁷ Corcoran to Robert J. Walker, November 21, 1854; A. Hyde to S. Bright, May 11, 1858, Letter Book, Corcoran MSS. Forney tells how he was drawn into this venture by Stephen A. Douglas in his *Anecdotes of Public Men*, 2 vols. (New York, 1873), I, 19-20.

⁴⁸ "Statement of Taxes for 1855 on Property Superior paid by Wm. H. Newton," Letter Book No. 9, Corcoran MSS. Aiken visited Kansas and Nebraska in 1857, apparently on a land investment tour and was reported to be "highly pleased" with Nebraska. *Omaha Nebraskian*, June 17, 1857.

⁴⁹ The Corcoran MSS. contain many letters concerning these transactions.

⁵⁰ Katharine E. Crane, "George Washington Riggs," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 603-604.

selections of prairie land from which he could shortly derive a substantial income in the form of rents or could sell at rapidly increasing prices. In 1856 he made another venture in Iowa land, buying 7,380 acres. He returned to Hagerstown to spend his last years, having accumulated a comfortable fortune in the course of his various speculations. In 1879 he was reported to own lots in Springfield and Chicago, farming land in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, in addition to extensive property in Virginia and Maryland.⁵¹

Another very fortunate series of investments was made by the family of Matthew T. Scott who was president of the Northern Bank of Kentucky at Lexington. He and his two sons Matthew T. and Isaac W., together with Samuel P. Humphrey of Woodford County, Courtney Pickett of Fayette County, Richard and Joel Higgins, John McFarland, and others of Kentucky, made a series of large investments in Illinois and Iowa. Isaac Scott began these investments at Springfield, Illinois, where he entered 2,340 acres in 1836. His brother entered 18,300 acres at the Danville office in 1854 and in the following year 3,450 acres in western Iowa. The Scotts did not entrust the management of this large estate to local agents but sent Matthew T., Jr., to Illinois to develop the property. He undertook large improvements upon the lands in McLean and Livingston counties, laid out the town of Chenoa, broke up great tracts of land which he cultivated by hired labor and tenants, and soon developed one of the most important real estate and farming businesses in the prairie section. Scott developed a peculiar type of farm lease under which the tenant was encouraged to make improvements which were credited toward the purchase of the land. Many improvements were made but few tenants at the time seemed to be able to complete their contracts and acquire the coveted title. Meantime, the land was rapidly rising in value and the Scotts and their associates became possessed of a valuable estate.⁵²

⁵¹ *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia* (Baltimore, 1879), 479.

⁵² *History of McLean County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1879), 499 ff.; *Atlas of McLean Co. and the State of Illinois* (Chicago, 1874). The deed records of McLean County for the fifties and sixties contain numerous conveyances, mortgages, and leases of Matthew T. Scott, Jr., and the other associates.

A number of Southern railroad promoters found capital to invest in Northern lands. Abram Blanding⁵³ of Richland District, South Carolina, who was closely identified with the movement for internal improvements and the beginnings of the Louisiana, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad, united with James K. Douglas of the same district in the purchase of 4,500 acres in southern Indiana in 1836. Charles Edmonston,⁵⁴ a director of the same railroad and a member of the South Carolina House, was one of six Charleston residents who, in 1835 and 1836, made entries of one to three thousand acres in the Green Bay area of Wisconsin. There was also Thomas Swann,⁵⁵ a native of Virginia who moved to Baltimore and there became president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He united with John H. Brent and Alexander Hunter in the purchase of 2,600 acres in southeastern Iowa in 1839.

Southern politicians as well as commercial, banking, and railroad men were attracted by land speculation in the Northwest. Indeed, the speculative craze of 1835 and 1836 had gone to such extremes and had caused so many persons in influential financial and political positions to make wild ventures that great alarm was felt. Jackson's specie circular of July 11, 1836, had been anticipated by a resolution of the House of June 21, providing for an investigation of the amount of borrowing by members of Congress and other government officials from deposit banks for speculation in public lands.⁵⁶ The select committee, after a superficial investigation, reported that it had been unable to secure informa-

⁵³ J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *The Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, II, 365, 419, 431; Ulrich B. Phillips, *History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York, 1908), *passim*; Theodore D. Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne and His Times* (New York, 1909), 419 ff.

⁵⁴ Jervey, *Robert Y. Hayne*, 419.

⁵⁵ Swann was also president of the First National Bank of Baltimore, mayor of the city, United States senator and representative. For his participation in the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, see William P. Smith, *The Book of the Great Railway Celebrations of 1857* (New York, 1858), 45, 71, *passim*.

⁵⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 24 Cong. 1 Sess., 456 (June 21, 1836). The Washington *United States Telegraph*, quoted in the Indianapolis *Indiana Journal*, July 23, 1836, fulminated against politician-speculators, especially Amos Kendall and Benjamin F. Butler, who were accused of using public funds for their land activities. Kendall made an investment in Illinois lands which is described elsewhere in this article; Butler had an interest in the American Land Company which had large investments in the Northwest.

tion from the banks concerning their loans for land investments.⁵⁷ The committee had called before it Preston S. Loughborough who, though obviously possessed of information about land companies, refused to divulge anything of interest and apparently for good reason.⁵⁸ A resident of Franklin County, Kentucky, and in 1836 chief clerk of the post office department in Washington, Loughborough himself was speculating in Illinois lands of which he bought 9,925 acres.

Loughborough may have had information about the land deals in which Senator Arnold Naudain of Delaware was engaged. With Edward Tatnall and Merritt Canby, likewise of Delaware, Naudain entered 11,365 acres in Indiana in 1836 and 1837. The following year the group entered 12,000 acres in Illinois and 2,840 acres in Iowa. Naudain resigned his seat in the Senate on June 16, 1836,⁵⁹ whether as a result of the growing opposition to members of Congress speculating in land or whether it was owing to his desire to devote his full time to the business is not clear. In 1837 he was so enamored of the West that he considered making his home in Illinois.⁶⁰ By 1849, however, he had failed to advance his fortune through land speculation and he then sought a Federal position from his old friend, Thomas Ewing, secretary of the interior.⁶¹

A more tragic case is that of Thomas Ludwell Lee Brent, a Virginia planter who served for a time in the diplomatic service. Like some other gentlemen farmers of the South and East, Brent had a grand dream of establishing a vast estate in the West, operated by tenants, on which he might reside in baronial splendor. In 1836 he went to Michigan where he bought 21,687 acres of public lands. Unfortunately, he exhausted his funds in purchasing land and had nothing to expend on

⁵⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., 482 (July 2, 1836); *Niles' Register* (Baltimore, Philadelphia, 1811-1849), L (1836), 403 ff.

⁵⁸ *House Reports*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 846, pp. 1-6.

⁵⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 24 Cong., 1 Sess., 451 (June 17, 1836); *Indianapolis Indiana Democrat*, June 29, 1836.

⁶⁰ *Dubuque Iowa News*, July 15, 1837.

⁶¹ A. Naudain to T. Ewing, Philadelphia, May 11, 1849, Ewing MSS. (Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress).

the development of his estate. He was land poor and upon his death a large part of his holdings passed out of the family's possession.⁶²

The Western land speculations of Charles W. Short⁶³ are interesting. He established himself at Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, and later at the University of Louisville, as a national authority on medicine and botany. Perhaps it was a field trip which took him to Illinois in 1836 where at the Springfield office he entered 720 acres of land. In 1845 appeared his *Observations on the Botany of Illinois*. That his interest in Illinois was sustained is evident from the fact that he entered 4,960 acres at the Danville office in 1853. A relative, William Short, also of Louisville, entered 2,260 acres in the same district in 1853 and 1854.

In the light of the approaching "irrepressible conflict," the land investments made by some Southern politicians in the fifties are surprising. William B. Stokes, who represented a central Tennessee constituency in Congress from 1859 to 1861 and 1865 to 1871, entered 7,000 acres in the pineries of Kanabec and Isanti counties, Minnesota, in 1856 and 1857. Stokes was a staunch unionist, and in the critical days of 1860 and 1861 when the Southern states were being urged to secede, he fought valiantly to preserve the Union and to keep his state a part of it.⁶⁴ The secession of Tennessee did not change his attitude; his state was wrong and the Union must be preserved at all hazards. During the war he was in command of a Union regiment and in the post-war period was a radical Republican.⁶⁵

A Kentuckian whose economic interests and national sympathies coincided was Jeremiah T. Boyle of Danville. According to a local his-

⁶² Judge Albert Miller estimated Brent's fortune at \$90,000 to \$100,000. He also says that Brent bought 70,000 acres of land in Michigan. If the latter statement is correct, the larger part of the land was probably entered at the government sale by others than Brent. Miller's account of "Thomas L. L. Brent," in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections* (Lansing, 1877-1929), IX (1886), 192-96, is interesting.

⁶³ Johnston, *Memorial History of Louisville*, II, 455-56; Filson Club *Publications* (Louisville, 1884-), XX (1905), 80; George H. Genzmer, "Charles Wilkins Short," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 127-28.

⁶⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., 365-68 (January 7, 1860).

⁶⁵ Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 203, 219.

torian, Boyle was a slaveholder who was averse to slavery and favored gradual emancipation. He built up a large law practice and became interested in various railroad schemes and land speculations. Among the latter was the Iowa Land Company which was organized to promote the towns of Clinton, Elvira, and Dewitt, and otherwise to speculate in Iowa and Illinois lands. It is not clear what part Boyle played in its affairs but he is listed with L. M. Flournoy of Paducah, Kentucky, and others as "promoters" of the company. Boyle was a unionist in 1860 and took up arms in support of the North.⁶⁶

On the other side was John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky politician who, while vice-president of the United States, entered with Francis K. Hunt 2,813 acres in Winnebago County, Iowa. Breckinridge had once resided in Iowa where he had learned something of the state and its resources and he was attempting to capitalize upon that experience. It has also been seen that he had a share in the promotion of Superior, Wisconsin. Hunt has been described as "one of the first lawyers in Kentucky."⁶⁷ When secession came, Breckinridge wavered for a time but eventually went with the South; his associate remained a unionist.

One of the most uncompromising members of the Southern Rights wing of the Democratic party was Eli S. Shorter of Eufaula, Alabama, who was a planter, lawyer, politician, and railroad official. He advocated disunion in 1850 and again in 1858 if Kansas were not admitted under the Lecompton constitution, and declared that should Alabama withdraw from the Union "her sons will be prepared to defend it in the forum or in the field."⁶⁸ Despite his uncompromising attitude upon the territorial question and his open support of disunion, Shorter did not hesitate to invest in Northern lands. In 1855, 1856, and 1857, and again in 1859 he toured Iowa and Nebraska, buying 3,320 acres in the former

⁶⁶ *First Annual Report of the Transactions of the Iowa Land Company*. June 2, 1856 (Chicago, 1856); Johnston, *Memorial History of Louisville*, I, 388-90.

⁶⁷ Ranck, *History of Lexington*, 54; *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. XVI, Pt. I, 457.

⁶⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., 770 (February 18, 1858). See, also, *ibid.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 399 (April 9, 1856).

and 9,625 acres in the latter state. Two years later he was a colonel in the Confederate infantry.⁶⁹

Eufaula furnished two other persons who invested in Western lands. Between 1849 and 1859 Selden S. Walkley entered 8,280 acres in Iowa.⁷⁰ Jefferson Buford, aroused by the activities of the New England Emigrant Aid Company to "save Kansas for freedom," issued in 1855 a stirring appeal for personal aid and financial support for an expedition to colonize Kansas with slavery defenders.⁷¹ Shortly afterwards he proceeded to Kansas with a band of supporters, dubbed by their Northern opponents "Border Ruffians," and took an active part in the Kansas conflict. In common with most pro- and antislavery leaders in the territory, Buford seemed as much interested in his land activities as in the slavery question. With Rush Elmore, a former Alabaman who had become a territorial judge of Kansas and who was himself something of a speculator, Buford organized and laid out the town of Virginia.⁷² He also bought 1,760 acres of Delaware Trust lands for \$4,672 and 160 acres at the Iowa Point sale for \$448. In addition, he purchased a squatter's claim on the Delaware Trust lands for which he paid \$1,000. This he stood to lose because of a technicality and he besought the government to protect his right to the claim.⁷³

Another Alabama politician who made investments in Northern

⁶⁹ Omaha *Nebraskian*, September 16, 1857; W. Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men* (Montgomery, 1872), 126-27; William Garrett, *Reminiscences of Public Men in Alabama for Thirty Years* (Atlanta, 1872), 617.

⁷⁰ Mention might be made of Horace Everett of Sumter County, Alabama, who in 1855 entered 35,000 acres in western Iowa. At that time Everett's residence was given as above but a year later, when he was engaged in entering 20,000 acres in the Plattsburg, Missouri, district, it was given as Iowa. Everett formed a partnership with Abiel Leonard and opened an office in Council Bluffs. See advertisement in Council Bluffs *Bugle*, September 4, 1855. In 1863 Everett was collector of internal revenue in Iowa. *Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. III, 84.

⁷¹ The story of Buford's expedition is told in Walter L. Fleming, "The Buford Expedition to Kansas," in *American Historical Review* (New York, 1895-), VI (1900), 38-48, and Elmer LeRoy Craik, "Southern Interest in Territorial Kansas, 1854-1858," in Kansas State Historical Society, *Collections* (Topeka, 1881-1928), XV (1923), 334-488, especially 397.

⁷² Act of February 19, 1857, incorporating Virginia Town Association, Kansas Territory, *Session Laws* (1857), 313.

⁷³ Jefferson Buford to Hon. B. Fitzpatrick, Westport, Missouri, accompanying letter of Fitzpatrick to Jacob Thompson, secretary of the interior, April 16, 1857, Indian Office.

lands was Williamson R. W. Cobb of Jackson. Cobb was a Democratic member of the national House of Representatives from 1847 to 1861. Like Buford, he was present at the Delaware Trust sale at Leavenworth where he bought fifteen city lots. His later investments are very devious and difficult to follow but it seems that he arranged with John F. Kinney to enter jointly 7,680 acres in Nebraska. Cobb was a director and stockholder in the Nebraska Real Estate and Exchange Company⁷⁴ and entered personally 1,120 acres in the eastern part of Nebraska. When the Civil War came, his lands were deeded to his son-in-law to avoid confiscation.⁷⁵

No less prominent than Breckinridge, Buford, Shorter, and Cobb among the Southern politicians who invested in Northern lands was John Slidell, Democratic representative and later senator from Louisiana. Elected to Congress in 1842, Slidell became a power in the Democratic party, partly through his own shrewdness and wit and partly through the fact that he was related by marriage to August Belmont, the New York banker. Belmont was devoted to the welfare of the Democratic party as were also Corcoran and a business associate, Elisha Riggs. With all three of these bankers Slidell was friendly and with two of them he undertook land ventures in the North. Slidell and Riggs entered 9,000 acres in northeastern Wisconsin in 1857,⁷⁶ and the following year they entered 16,000 acres in western Iowa. Slidell and Belmont jointly entered 20,000 acres in western Iowa in November, 1858. Belmont and Slidell broke off relations in 1859, apparently because the former had lost confidence in Buchanan and had transferred his support to Douglas. "Essentially a moderate" in 1860, says Professor Sears of Slidell, he "found himself supporting the most extreme wing," and when Louisiana seceded Slidell went with his state.⁷⁷ After

⁷⁴ Nebraska City *Nebraska News*, October 10, 24, 1857.

⁷⁵ Omaha *Nebraska Advertiser*, September 27, October 4, 1862.

⁷⁶ A. Hyde to L. Riggs, Baltimore, June 27, 1870, Corcoran MSS., mentions 30,000 acres in Wisconsin which were purchased by Slidell and Riggs. If the figure is correct it is probable that much of the land was entered by agents, perhaps in their own name and assigned to Slidell and Riggs. This would make a total of 66,000 acres in which Slidell had an interest in Iowa and Wisconsin.

⁷⁷ Louis M. Sears, *John Slidell* (Durham, 1925), 159-60. Belmont's pique at not gaining the post of Minister at Madrid may also have alienated him from Buchanan. Draft,

the attack upon Fort Sumter, he became alarmed for his investments in the North and urged his friend Corcoran to arrange a sale. On May 14, 1861, Corcoran negotiated a sale to a Mr. Fay, the payment to be made in New Orleans city bonds.⁷⁸

A Southern politician who engaged in a variety of speculations was Robert J. Walker. Financial agent of the Illinois Central Railroad,⁷⁹ promoter of the city of Superior and of the St. Croix and Lake Superior Railroad and the Texas and Pacific Railroad,⁸⁰ shareholder in the Chicago Land Company, and land speculator in Wisconsin, Mississippi, and Louisiana, Walker was as active in business as in politics. The year 1856 found him enjoying financial success almost beyond his dreams as witnessed by the following quotation from a letter of April 28 to James Buchanan:⁸¹

I have sold most of my Mississippi & Louisiana lands without warranty for very large cash prices & am selling the remainder from time to time. Besides my Wisconsin property has increased nearly a hundred fold in value & where I bought as farms, by the *acre*, are now flourishing cities. To crown all, my quick-silver property in Cali. has turned out of enormous value.

A land speculation different from those mentioned above was promoted by Dr. Alexander Graham of Lexington, Virginia. He formed a syndicate which purchased the much sought after military reservation at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Like the lands of defaulting officers and their bondsmen which were sold to Corcoran for a song, numerous Indian⁸² and military reservations were disposed of to faithful supporters of the parties in power during the years 1850 to 1870 at what might be called

letter of James Buchanan to John Slidell, Washington, June 24, 1859; Slidell to Buchanan, July 3, 1859, Buchanan MSS. (Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library).

⁷⁸ Hyde to Slidell, Washington, May 14, 1861, Corcoran Letter Book, Corcoran MSS.

⁷⁹ Gates, *Illinois Central Railroad*, 69-71.

⁸⁰ Corcoran to Walker, August 25, 1856, and Hyde to *id.*, November 24, 1856, Corcoran Letter Book, Corcoran MSS. Walker was operating at least in part on borrowed capital, his debt to Corcoran being \$11,426 on January 15, 1855. This debt remained unpaid as late as 1867. Corcoran to Walker, January 15, 1855, and memo of May 24, 1867, *ibid.*

⁸¹ Letter in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library.

⁸² For the story of a small but valuable Indian reservation in Kansas, see Paul Wallace Gates, "A Fragment of Kansas Land History: The Disposal of the Christian Indian Tract," in *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (Topeka, 1931-), VI (1937), 227, *passim*.

bargain prices, and the sale of Fort Snelling is more or less typical of the others. Graham, while visiting his friend, John B. Floyd, secretary of war, learned that the Fort Snelling reservation was for sale. Here was the opportunity of a lifetime and Graham did not neglect it. He informed Franklin Steele, a prominent Minnesota speculator who decided to have a share in the purchase of the tract. To secure capital, Graham and Steele approached two influential New Yorkers, Richard Schell,⁸³ a broker and "speculator" who was a heavy contributor to Democratic campaign funds, and John Mather, a member of the New York legislature. These four men formed a syndicate and purchased the 8,000 acres for \$90,000, a price well below the estimated value of the land and one which did not reflect the competitive demand for the tract.⁸⁴ Henry M. Rice, Democratic "boss" of Minnesota, was interested in the sale and it was noted that Douglas ostentatiously denied that he had had any share in the transaction.⁸⁵

After 1854 Illinois lands, previously so popular with Southerners, were in private hands and it was Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska which attracted the most attention. To show the wide distribution of such investments in the South the following table of land sales is included:⁸⁶

<i>Name</i>	<i>Residence</i>	<i>Land District</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Acres</i>
Boulden, Jesse H.	Bourbon County, Ala.	Ft. Dodge	1857	1148
Burson, Zachariah L.	Washington County, Tenn.	Des Moines	1855	760
Burson, Zachariah L.	Washington County, Tenn.	Sioux City	1857	1144
Clark, Thomas A.	Orleans Parish, La.	Osage	1856	4382
Curry, George W.	Monroe County, Va.	Council Bluffs	1857	760
Curry, George W.	Monroe County, Va.	Sioux City	1857	720
Drexel, Frederick	Taylor County, Va.	Council Bluffs	1855	1120
Fain, Samuel N.	Jefferson County, Tenn.	Fairfield	1855-56	9916
Ford, John R.	Danville, Ky.	Ft. Dodge, Des Moines	1855	3400
Gregg, John	Loudon County, Va.	Ft. Dodge	1857	1050
Hager, William H.	Washington County, Md.	Iowa City	1854	5680
Hough, John A.	Maury County, Tenn.	Brownsville, Nebraska	1860	1330

⁸³ "The Covode Investigation," *House Reports*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 648, pp. 511-12.

⁸⁴ "Fort Snelling Investigation," *ibid.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 351, *passim*.

⁸⁵ Letter of Stephen A. Douglas, August 29, 1857, published in *Chicago Times* and copied in the *Washington National Intelligencer*, September 4, 1857. Douglas' denial of interest in the Fort Snelling sale may have been correct but the letter is a shifty effort to skirt the truth as closely as possible.

⁸⁶ Compiled from abstracts in the general land office, department of the interior. Unless otherwise indicated the districts are in Iowa.

Irwin, G. and T.	Baltimore, Md.	Ft. Dodge.	1860	4564
Lash, Israel G., Jr.	Forsyth County, N. C.	Des Moines	1860	4564
Lowd, William W.	Orleans Parish, La.	Council Bluffs	1856	1690
Lungren, Samuel S.	Washington County, Md.	Des Moines	1855	2680
McCown, Andrew R.	Hancock County, Va.	Council Bluffs	1857	1460
Maxwell, Thomas	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	Ft. Dodge.	1857	1440
Merrill, Harvey G.	Orleans Parish, La.	Council Bluffs	1856	8120
Orr, Charles C.	Orleans Parish, La.	Sioux City	1858-60	4214
Orr, Charles C.	Orleans Parish, La.	Dakota City, Neb.	1859	920
Peters, Stephen F.	Campbell County, Va.	Council Bluffs	1855	6600
Pratt, William H.	Mobile, Ala.	Council Bluffs	1855	4890
Rawson, William A.	Stewart County, Ga.	Sioux City	1857	2744
Walton, Simon H.	Mason County, Ky.	Des Moines	1854	3320
Watkins, Isaac R.	Charlotte, Va.	Council Bluffs	1858	8528
Watkins, Isaac R.	Charlotte, Va.	Ft. Dodge.	1858	1137
Wilkinson, James W.	Charleston, S. C.	Ft. Dodge.	1857	3518
Wolfinger, Michael	Washington County, Md.	Des Moines	1855	2000
Wormald, James	Mason County, Ky.	Chariton	1855	2880
Lushbaugh, Benjamin F.	Washington County, Md.	Osage	1857	4100

The panic of 1857 and the sharp fall of agricultural prices caused a scarcity of money in the West, and squatters, faced with auction sales of their claims if they did not pre-empt them, were forced to seek outside assistance at exorbitant interest rates. The squatters and newspapers friendly to them clamored for the postponement of the land sales.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, the depression produced a government deficit and the Buchanan administration could scarcely afford to relinquish the anticipated revenue from the sale of lands. Perhaps also the Democratic leaders recognized that the cheap land sections of the West, especially Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, were lost to their party and that they could therefore disregard the piteous appeals for

⁸⁷ Strongly divergent views were invariably expressed by Westerners when the government was preparing to bring public lands into market. Generally opposed to sales were the squatters, frontier newspapers, and local politicians who deplored the advantages which the sales would give to the "loan sharks"; favorable were the more ardent of the "booster" element (except in a depression as the years following 1857), the local capitalists and land speculators as well as those influential Easterners who were seeking opportunities for lucrative investments. The government was betwixt the devil and the deep blue sea, since it needed the revenue from the sales but feared the resentment of the squatters. When the opposition became too strong, sales were sometimes postponed. After 1854 there was an added incentive to have the lands brought on the market as under the Graduation Act their price automatically declined after they had been subject to sale ten years. A careful study is needed of the question of holding or postponing land sales as it was of vital importance to the squatters and others interested. Jacob Thompson, secretary of the interior, gives some attention to the problem in his *Annual Report* for 1860, p. 4.

postponement. There was ordered to be sold in the depression years an area equivalent to Missouri and most of this land was located in states or territories already controlled by the Republicans. The "loan sharks" again put in their appearance at these sales and it is probable that some of the Southerners who entered large tracts in the years 1858-1860 were employing their funds in this way. Perhaps they may have been influential in preventing postponement of the sales in order that they might be able to lend their funds to needy squatters.

This was the period when Shorter, Slidell, Belmont, Taylor, and Walker made most of their purchases. Other Southerners of note also made investments in the last years before secession. James Calloway of Wilkes County, North Carolina, entered some 6,880 acres at the bitterly opposed sale at Leecompton, Kansas, in 1859 and 1860. In the spring and summer of 1858, four Virginians, William Hurley of Henrico County, Michael Hurley of Norfolk County, Jerman W. Pace of Pittsylvania County, and Edwin G. Halsey of Campbell County, entered in western Iowa 11,500, 5,760, 2,500, and 1,760 acres respectively. One other most illusive person, Solomon Tift of Jackson, Mississippi, listed in the Mississippi census of 1852 as an attorney having property valued at \$500,⁸⁸ entered between October, 1859, and September, 1860, a total of 27,480 acres in eastern Nebraska. So much Southern capital was invested in Kansas in the short period from 1854 to 1861 that Senator James H. Lane was moved to lament in 1862, "We have in Kansas a larger proportion of rebel property than any other state in this Union."⁸⁹

It thus appears that many Southern planters, bankers, shippers, lawyers, politicians, and others invested in lands in the Northwestern states in the ante-bellum years. Every slave state east of the Mississippi was represented as was also Texas. So popular did Northern land investments become in the South that land agents in Minnesota and elsewhere advertised in Southern papers, "Land investments made for Southern and Eastern capitalists that will net forty and sixty per cent per an-

⁸⁸ Census data furnished by Miss Mary E. Cameron.

⁸⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., 3379 (July 16, 1862).

num.”⁹⁰ The author’s tabulation, by no means complete, of the Southern purchases of government land of 1,000 acres or more in the Northwestern states shows a total in excess of 1,500,000 acres.⁹¹

There is also evidence that other Southerners were purchasing lands in the North, not from the Federal government but from other sources. For example, Dr. Stephen Duncan of Natchez, “a 4,000 bale planter and the owner of 500 negroes,” was accused, with other large planters, of investing “great amounts” in land and securities in the North or “elsewhere out of the South.”⁹² Joshua B. Leavens of Mobile, Alabama, claimed ownership of 28,000 acres in the Military Tract of Illinois in 1838.⁹³ The famous Kentucky divine, Robert J. Breckinridge of Danville, owned in Iowa in 1857 a full section of 640 acres assessed at \$3,840 and in 1858 he bought in Illinois in partnership with a nephew 320 acres for \$4,000.⁹⁴ A very substantial purchase, the facts of which were found in the deed records of Champaign County, Illinois, was

⁹⁰ Advertisement of Tracy and Farnham, in Washington *National Intelligencer*, September 19, 1854.

⁹¹ The entry books of all the states of the Old Northwest, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska were examined. An effort was made to take account of all land entries of more than one thousand acres but where the entries of individuals were widely scattered it was difficult to compile them. Examples are the entries of Miles and Elias White. They are scattered over many dozen huge folio volumes and are not massed together as are those of Cabell, Slidell, and Belmont. The first examination missed the White entries and only after the name was encountered in practically every Iowa abstract volume for the years 1850 to 1860 was it found desirable to go over the ground again and collect their entries. It is certain that other Southerners whose entries were encountered less frequently but were equally scattered would be missed in such a study. The very volume of the material precluded a more complete analysis. Another cause of understatement of the amount of Southern entries in the Northwest is the fact that the names of persons who located lands with military warrants as found in the warrant abstracts are not accompanied by the addresses of the locators. If there was excess payment upon the tract occasioned by its acreage being larger than the amount of the warrant, the warrantee’s or the assignee’s name would appear in the cash abstract which always gives the address. In as much as a large part of the speculative entries after 1847 were made with warrants, it will be appreciated how much this factor may have minimized the figure of Southern entries.

⁹² Percy L. Rainwater, *Mississippi: Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1938), 140-41; Dunbar Rowland, *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, 2 vols. (Madison, Wis., 1907), I, 666.

⁹³ Advertisement in Quincy (Illinois) *Argus*, December 1, 1838, mentioning 28,000 acres of military bounty lands owned by Joseph B. Leavens of Mobile, Alabama, and cautioning people against buying them because of estate difficulties.

⁹⁴ Oliver Cock to Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, Burlington, Iowa, December 17, 1857; S. M. Breckinridge to *id.*, St. Louis, April 5, 1858, Breckinridge MSS.

made by a group of wealthy residents of Shelby County, Kentucky. William M. King, the Harbisons—William, William Scott, John, Baxter D., and George L.—Francis J. Peters, and others bought 12,755 acres in Champaign and Piatt counties, Illinois, for a total of \$76,535. Baxter Harbison moved to Champaign County where he managed the sale of a part of this large holding for the others who remained in their native state.⁹⁵ A careful examination of the deed records of other counties in the Northwestern states would doubtless show the investment of additional Southern capital.

City property in the Northwestern states also attracted a substantial amount of Southern capital. Outstanding among such investments are those of John C. Breckinridge, Hunter, Corcoran, Boyce, and Aiken in Superior; Breckinridge in Prairie Du Chien and Burlington;⁹⁶ Buford, Fant, and Corcoran in Leavenworth; Smithson and Easley in Elwood and White Cloud, Kansas; Walker, Smithson, and Loose in Chicago; J. B. Danforth and Charles H. Lewis of Jefferson County, Kentucky, in Springfield; Breckinridge and Graham in St. Paul; Easley in Council Bluffs; and Francis L. and Robert W. Smith⁹⁷ of Alexandria, Virginia, in Sioux City. Mention might also be made of the Baltimore Western Land Company which advertised city lots in Bloomington, Iowa, in 1843, and of the part played by William Stokes of Louisville and H. W. Varnton of Georgetown, in the promotion of Mound City, Illinois, in 1860.⁹⁸

The rekindling of the old fires of sectional hatred did not end but, instead, seemed to accelerate the flow of Southern capital into the North. After the adoption of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, 800,000 acres of land in the states of the Upper Mississippi Valley were bought by Southerners.

⁹⁵ In the deed records of Champaign County there are numerous conveyances between the various members of this group which show the division of the land and its subsequent resale. Baxter Harbison who with George received 3,320 acres, sold land to the amount of \$134,492 between 1858 and 1902.

⁹⁶ The Breckinridge MSS. contain frequent allusions to investments in Superior, Prairie Du Chien, Burlington, St. Paul, and elsewhere.

⁹⁷ Francis L. Smith to George W. Jones, Alexandria, Virginia, May 2, 1866, Jones MSS. (Library of the Historical, Memorial and Art Department of Iowa, Des Moines).

⁹⁸ *Report of Jesse E. Peyton, Esq., to the Eastern Stockholders of the Emporium Real Estate and Manufacturing Company of Mound City* (Philadelphia, 1860).

Even the financial crash of 1857 did not end the capital migration for 170,000 acres were bought between 1858 and 1860 and some land was purchased by Southerners just as the secession movement got under way. The quantity and comparative lateness of these purchases lends weight to the accusation brought against Dr. Duncan that he and other conservative unionists were investing their funds in the North where they would be remote from any possible danger zone.

Some of the land purchased by Southerners was sold advantageously within a few months but a much larger amount had to be carried for years, sometimes for a generation, before a satisfactory price could be secured. Meantime, interest, agents' fees, and the rapidly rising tax burden increased the original investment. It is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the amount of Southern capital which was invested in Northern farming lands and city lots in the ante-bellum years but one may give a minimum figure about which there should be little quibbling. An examination of the deed records of such prairie counties as Benton and White, Indiana, and Vermillion, McLean, Logan, Sangamon, and Christian, Illinois, reveals that large amounts of land owned by absentee speculators were being sold in the fifties for prices ranging from \$5 to \$15.50 per acre. Values of undeveloped land in Wisconsin, Iowa, and Nebraska would certainly be lower but improved land before the panic would doubtless be considered worth \$5 per acre. Most of the lands of the Whites, Easley and Willingham, and some other Southerners were entered for squatters and therefore would have a higher valuation than raw land possessing no improvements. A conservative estimate of the value of the property owned by Southerners in the Upper Mississippi Valley would be between \$4,000,000 and \$8,000,000. The probability is that the total amount would be greater, considering the city lot business and the smaller holdings which do not appear in the present estimates.

Absentee ownership of land, though found everywhere in the West, was not regarded favorably by the local residents and these Southern investments were destined to produce ill will and friction. The outbreak of the Civil War gave Westerners an opportunity to fulminate against

the Southern speculators and to demand the confiscation of their lands. It irked many, as Mrs. Jane Gray Swisshelm reveals,⁹⁹ that Breckinridge and Slidell could participate in the rebellion without the government taking action to confiscate their Wisconsin and Minnesota property. An examination of the Congressional debates upon the confiscation bills in 1861 and 1862 shows that the investments of these two men were more generally known than those of any other Confederate or Southern speculator and that several members of Congress were seeking to frame a bill which would enable the government to confiscate their possessions. Senator Lyman Trumbull was especially anxious to have the holdings of Slidell confiscated and again and again he referred to them. On April 7, 1862, he said that he was "unwilling that rebel chiefs like Slidell and Mason who are said to be large landholders in the loyal States . . . should be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their estates situated within our jurisdiction."¹⁰⁰ Again on April 24 he expressed his fear that the bill under consideration would not strike at Slidell's property.¹⁰¹ On May 6 he quoted from a constituent who mentioned additional Northern lands owned by Slidell:¹⁰²

Five or six years ago, when attending the land sales at Danville in this State, I met an agent of John Slidell . . . who entered for him some forty thousand acres of land, and I learned that the next year he entered some thirty thousand acres in Iowa. Last week, when in St. Louis, I met this agent and he informed me that Slidell still owned these lands.

Trumbull added, "there are a great many such instances all over the State of Illinois and all over the western States where these rebels hold real estate, for they have been making investments for years in our

⁹⁹ Mrs. Swisshelm considered the Confiscation Act of 1862 deplorably weak, resenting especially the fact that confiscated property of persons participating in the rebellion might be recovered by their heirs. She writes feelingly of such Confederate leaders as Breckinridge who "holds" property in her adopted state of Minnesota and John Slidell whose "twenty-five thousand acres of Minnesota land is to be secured to him and heirs." Arthur J. Larson, ed., *Crusader and Feminist: Letters of Jane Gray Swisshelm, 1858-1865* (St. Paul, 1934), 134 *et passim*. She apparently confused their Wisconsin property mentioned above.

¹⁰⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., 1560 (April 7, 1862).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1813 (April 24, 1862).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 1959 (May 6, 1862).

lands. Are we not to touch them?" Finally, on June 27 he complained that the Senate bill would not permit the government to touch the \$100,000 worth of property which Slidell owned in Illinois.¹⁰³

Similarly, Representative William Windom of Minnesota inveighed against "Breckinridge, Toombs, Slidell, and many others of the same class in the South, [who] own large tracts of land in my own State." He asked:¹⁰⁴

Do you think the people there will contentedly bear the burdens we impose on them when they see this property untouched by the government? When I return to my constituents, and they ask me why these lands were not confiscated, will they be quite satisfied with the answer, "I was afraid it would irritate and offend Messrs Breckinridge, Toombs & Co., and therefore I rolled the whole burden on you.

Senator James R. Doolittle was also anxious to find a means of confiscating the "large amount of real estate" which Slidell owned "both in Illinois and in Wisconsin, as well as in Louisiana."¹⁰⁵ Representative Thomas D. Eliot of Massachusetts approved a bill to confiscate the "large estates owned by enemies in Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, the proceeds of which are made to support the leading rebels in the armies and government of the South."¹⁰⁶

Professor Randall has shown how ineffectively the North enforced the confiscation laws during the Civil War.¹⁰⁷ He estimates that the total returns from the sale of confiscated property under the acts of 1861 and 1862 were approximately \$300,000, none of which was from the states of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, or Illinois. Confiscation proceedings could be avoided by transferring property to loyal citizens and by this means Slidell saved his investments in the North. Despite the bitter resentment against him, John C. Breckinridge did not suffer confiscation of his extensive investments, perhaps because they were held jointly with others whose loyalty was not in question. Some of his lands were sold

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 2972 (June 27, 1862).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 2244 (May 20, 1862).

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Pt. IV, Appendix, 140.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., 2357 (May 26, 1862).

¹⁰⁷ James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems Under Lincoln* (New York, 1926), 289-91.

for taxes, however.¹⁰⁸ Stokes, being a unionist, was in no danger of losing his lands and Walker, for the same reason, had nothing to fear for his Northern possessions. He may, however, have suffered the loss of his Southern property.

Easley and Willingham were Union supporters in 1860 and 1861 and opposed the action of their state in seceding. In May, 1861, they continued to hope that "the difficulties and disturbances now existing between the two sections of our glorious country may soon be settled without bloodshed; and the prosperity of our country may again be restored."¹⁰⁹ As late as May 20, 1861, they contemplated a trip to Iowa and Illinois but the outbreak of war forced its postponement.¹¹⁰ Neither of the partners entered the Confederate service and both were pardoned by President Johnson on June 26, 1865.¹¹¹ Meantime, their land business in the Northwestern states was neglected, collections ceased, taxes were unpaid, many tracts were sold for taxes, and Federal attorneys took steps to confiscate their holdings. The Wisconsin lands were seized by the District Attorney and confiscation proceedings were pending in the Milwaukee court when the war ended.¹¹² The titles to many tracts had thus become deeply involved and it was years before they were cleared.

Unlike Easley and Willingham, Malhiot had no difficulty in continuing the management of his estates in Illinois and Louisiana, but it should be pointed out that his Louisiana plantation was within the Confederate lines for only a short period. Dr. Hamilton Griffith of Louisville, Kentucky, on the other hand, who had made a speculation in Kansas lands, was informed in 1867 that his property had been con-

¹⁰⁸ E. A. C. Hatch to John C. Breckinridge, St. Paul, June 20, 1869; M. D. Browning to *id.*, Burlington, June 24, 1869; J. Landler to *id.*, Prairie Du Chien, September 15, 1869; S. T. Hillis to *id.*, Watson, Illinois, September 27, 1870, Breckinridge MSS.

¹⁰⁹ Easley and Willingham to J. P. Casady, May 9, 1861, Letter Book, Easley MSS.

¹¹⁰ James S. Easley to E. B. Stiles, May 20, 1861, *ibid.*

¹¹¹ Southerners possessing property worth over \$20,000 were exempted from President Johnson's amnesty proclamation of May 29, 1865. See J. T. Dorris, "Pardon Seekers and Brokers: A Sequel to Appomattox," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), I (1935), 276 ff. Easley and Willingham wrote of their pardon in a letter of October 26, 1865, to Col. John Scott, Letter Book, Easley MSS.

¹¹² Joseph Harris to Easley and Willingham, Treasurers Office, Door County, Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, September 25, 1865; Easley and Willingham to Waldo Ody and Company, December 6, 1865, Easley MSS.

demned by the Federal court but as no sale had been made the condemnation might be set aside upon presentation of his pardon.¹¹³ Meantime, taxes and penalties which were "pretty heavy" had accumulated against the property.¹¹⁴ Other Southerners who had difficulty in straightening out their land affairs were Francis and Robert Smith of Alexandria, Virginia, who, in 1866, wrote former Senator George W. Jones¹¹⁵ of their "quite large" investment in Sioux City about which they were anxious and William Hurley of Henrico County who, in 1866, was in Iowa "trying to straighten up my affairs" concerning 12,000 acres of land bought in 1858.¹¹⁶

Of all the Southern investors in Northern lands, Corcoran was in the most trying position at the outbreak of the war. He had been intimate with most of the officials in Washington for a generation before and had done many favors for Whigs, Democrats, Americans, and even Republicans. Nevertheless, he was closely identified with the Southern Democrats and his sympathies were definitely with the South. But Corcoran's extensive property, then estimated at \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000, was largely in Washington lots and in farming lands in the Northwest. Furthermore, many of his banking and business associates as well as political friends were Northerners. At the outbreak of the war he was in a serious dilemma, not knowing what steps to take. He opposed the breakup of the Union and was deeply shocked at the fratricidal war. His position in Washington soon became intolerable because of the suspicion to which he was subject. He was accused of being a secessionist,¹¹⁷ of contributing \$30,000 to the Democratic campaign fund of 1862,¹¹⁸ and of contributing to the cost of constructing cruiser *No. 290*, later the *Alabama*.¹¹⁹ Despairing of fair treatment at the hands of the new forces

¹¹³ Professor Randall says "there were many forfeitures in Kansas but no proceeds turned in." *Constitutional Problems*, 290.

¹¹⁴ Van Doren and Havens to Dr. Hamilton Griffith, February 1, 1867, Letter Book of Van Doren and Havens (Kansas State Historical Society Library).

¹¹⁵ Francis L. Smith to George W. Jones, Alexandria, Virginia, May 2, 1866, Jones MSS.

¹¹⁶ William Hurley to James S. Easley, Sidney Iowa, November 3, 1868, Easley MSS.

¹¹⁷ George Morey to Governor John A. Andrew, November 21, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. II, 165.

¹¹⁸ New York *Herald*, October 24, 1862; New York *Times*, October 24, 1862.

¹¹⁹ Hyde to Corcoran, October 13, 1863, Corcoran MSS.

in control in Washington and wearied by the constant clamor against him, Corcoran withdrew to Paris in 1862 where he remained for the duration of the war. Meantime, his art gallery was taken over by the government which needed additional office space, his other Washington property was damaged by an outraged public or rabble, easily influenced by the clamor against him, and confiscation proceedings were brought against his lands in the North. Although not pressed to conclusion, these proceedings further confused titles to much of Corcoran's property and created great difficulties for him on his return to America after the conclusion of the war.

Despite their unfortunate experiences in the management of their lands during the Civil War, at least three prominent Southern investors in Northern lands expanded their investments in the North after 1865. Corcoran made a substantial investment in Oregon in 1870; Easley and Willingham invested many thousands of dollars in tax titles in Iowa in the postwar years,¹²⁰ and Miles and Elias White entered lands in Nebraska in 1868. Some of these investments were made to recoup earlier losses but in general they seemed to indicate a feeling that land values were more certain to rise in the North and that the investments there would be more remunerative than in the South.

¹²⁰ It is interesting to note that James S. Easley did not concentrate his investments in Northern lands so completely after the war as he had in the fifties. In 1870 he invested \$17,000 in the Richmond and Danville Railroad.

“The First Northern Victory”

By FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON

Father Giddings, grim, contentious dean of the Thirty-fourth House of Representatives—old Joshua Giddings, whom Douglas termed “the high priest of abolitionism”—raised his right hand to heaven.

“You do solemnly swear that you will support the Constitution of the United States, so help you God?” he asked in that booming, arrogant voice his colleagues knew so well.

“I do!” replied a handsome youngish man by Giddings’ side;¹ and thus, on February 2, 1856, was ended the longest, perhaps the most important speakership contest Congress has ever known. For nine long weeks, more than a hundred thirty times the weary unpaid representatives had balloted; and, doing so, they had set a stamp upon their nation’s history. Contemporaries called the outcome “the first Northern victory”;² one of the participants lived to say, “this was the first gust, the large pelting drops, that preceded the storm of 1861”;³ and, however we discount these views, we must admit that the contest welded a very important link to the chain of movements and events that led to fratricidal war. It is worth investigating because of that, and also as an illustration of the way antislavery politicians turned what was essentially a factional fight among Northern men into an instrument of antislavery propaganda.

To tell the story of the contest, we must turn back to 1854, when the Thirty-fourth Congress came into being at the polls. It was the year of the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which embodied the Stephen

¹ *New York Times*, February 6, 1856.

² See n. 72.

³ William B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill* (Boston, 1924), 68, quoting Morrill.

A. Douglas formula for settling the slavery extension question by letting the inhabitants of each territory vote the institution "up" or "down." Following the acceptance of the principle came a fiercely contested congressional campaign, with the Pierce administration Democrats defending the Nebraska Act against the attacks of antislavery-extension foes. The result, to all appearances, was a setback for the President; although the administration Democrats did manage to retain control of the Senate, there was an anti-Nebraska majority in the newly elected House. This meant that, for the first time in history, a house of Congress might have an outright antislavery-extension organization.

There were, however, factors that complicated the situation. The anti-Nebraska members were divided among themselves. In their ranks were Northern Whigs, Free Soilers, antislavery Know Nothings (or Americans), Republicans, and anti-Nebraska Democrats. And while all were opposed to the principles of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, these men were in violent disagreement on other aspects of the slavery question; they ranged all the way from Giddings, a virtual abolitionist, to near-hunker Whigs like Solomon G. Haven, Fillmore's law partner. To make matters worse, a number of them, the nativist Know Nothings, were more concerned over the foreign menace and the Papal peril than they were about the extension or existence of the South's peculiar institution. There was the real possibility that some of these representatives, hoping for antforeign solidarity, would vote with the Southern, pro-Nebraska Americans rather than with the other antislavery-extension men. Such an alliance, in combination with the Pierce Democrats, might well result in the election of a pro-Nebraska speaker.

As the time for meeting neared, however, there seemed reason to believe that there would be a sharp division between proslavery and antislavery-extension forces on the organization question with the latter emerging victorious.⁴ The settlement of Kansas and especially the activity of the emigrant aid companies had focused attention on the terri-

⁴ Thomas D. Harris to Howell Cobb, October 15, 1855, in Ulrich B. Phillips (ed.), *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens and Howell Cobb*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1911 (Washington, 1913), II, 355-56; Frank

torial question and had tended to iron out difficulties within Nebraska and anti-Nebraska ranks. Then, too, the prospect of an alliance of Northern and Southern Know Nothings faded in June, 1855, when the nativist national council split into proslavery and antislavery-extension groups (South and North Americans⁵) over the slavery issue. By December, there was almost no talk of nativism—it was “all nigger,” as Humphrey Marshall, a leading pro-Nebraska American, expressed it.⁶ Finally, the anti-Nebraska chances were improved when, just before Congress convened, the administration Democrats shut the door to the possibility of a union with the so-called South Americans by adopting a caucus resolution denouncing the Know Nothings in the severest terms.⁷

Realizing their opportunity, the antislavery-extension men prepared for action. The older congressional leaders wrote the neophytes, urging them to be in the capital in time to organize.⁸ Horace Greeley and Thurlow Weed gave themselves Washington assignments for December in order that they might be on hand to work for an anti-Nebraska speaker, and Willard's Hotel and the just refurnished National buzzed with the excitement of antislavery-extension plans as the day of meeting drew near.⁹

Even so, there were signs of trouble ahead. Attempts to organize an antiadministration caucus¹⁰ failed miserably. The only general antislavery-extension consultations brought together less than half the representatives opposed to slavery extension. These members made no caucus

Simonton, in *New York Times*, December 1, 1855; Charles Sumner to William Jay, October 7, 1855, quoted in Edward L. Pierce (ed.), *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, 4 vols. (Boston, 1877-1893), III, 420.

⁵ The terms “South American” and “North American” were used in 1855 and 1856 to designate, respectively, those who accepted and those who repudiated the famous twelfth section (proslavery plank) adopted at the National American Council of June, 1855. Many Northern Know Nothings were “South Americans.” Since these terms are confusing, other phrases have been substituted wherever possible.

⁶ *New York Tribune*, December 6, 1855.

⁷ Proposed by J. Glancy Jones of Pennsylvania, and adopted by unanimous vote. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1855.

⁸ Senator Solomon Foot to Morrill, in Parker, *Justin Smith Morrill*, 62.

⁹ *New York Courier and Enquirer*, November 29, 30, 1855; *New York Herald*, December 1, 1855.

¹⁰ Horace Greeley to Schuyler Colfax, September 7, November 13, 1855, in Greeley-Colfax MSS. (New York Public Library).

nomination, contenting themselves with the adoption of Giddings' resolution by which they agreed not to support any speakership candidate who was not "pledged . . . to organize the standing committees of the House by placing on each a majority of the friends of freedom."¹¹

The difficulty lay in selecting a suitable candidate. Each group and subgroup had its own favorite and was not disposed to yield in the interests of harmony. To an extent, perhaps, the disagreement was one of principle; the leading anti-Nebraska nominees represented slightly different levels of antislavery thought. But more significant than these shadings were the forces of regional and personal rivalry. Not far from right was the sarcastic member from Ohio who wrote: "as near as I can ascertain there are about thirty *modest* men who think the country needs their services in the Speaker's chair. To get rid of this swarm of patriots will take time."¹²

Noon, December 3, 1855, saw a crowded, noisy House. The lobby and galleries were packed with distinguished and obscure visitors—politicians and diplomats, correspondents and members' wives, office seekers and the idly curious. One could detect a feeling of excitement, but there was no tone of bitterness, none of that tension that was to pervade the House on a like occasion in 1859. Few who witnessed the scene could have guessed that fratricidal war was only six years off.¹³

A person in the galleries, looking down on the members, could see many of established fame and many more of promise. Although the administration Democrats were in a decided minority, their ranks contained the bulk of the well-known representatives. The slender Alexander H. Stephens, his fleshless boyish face and sharp, high-pitched voice belying his years and his position as the House's best tactician, caught attention at once. One picked out other Southern Democrats: former Speaker Howell Cobb, perhaps the ablest administration leader; the

¹¹ Joshua Giddings to the Ashtabula *Sentinel*, December 6, 1855, quoted in the New York *Herald*, December 17, 1855.

¹² Timothy C. Day to uncle, December 6, 1855, in Sarah J. Day, *The Man on a Hill Top* (Philadelphia, 1931), 140; New York *Times*, December 11, 1855.

¹³ One reporter said it was the most orderly opening day he had ever seen in Washington. New York *Commercial Advertiser*, December 4, 1855.

sharp-tongued, witty Thomas Clingman; the cheerful, brilliant James L. Orr, who was to end his days an officeholder under Grant. In Orr's state delegation was a silver-haired, bewhiskered little gentleman called William Aiken, a kindly, unassuming man who, rumor had it, owned a thousand slaves. And with Aiken was a younger South Carolinian, a gracious, handsome sixfoot specimen who looked the beau ideal of the Southern planter—Preston S. Brooks. A Southern newcomer was John A. Quitman, the sponsor of filibusters, a quiet, aging man with untrimmed hair and beard; a veteran was George Washington Jones, "Objection Jones" of the faded coat with its rusty buttons, back once again to upset treasury raids by growling "R-e-g-u-l-a-r O-r-d-e-r" from his nook in the southeast corner. William A. Richardson of Illinois, Douglas' *alter ego* and the Democratic nominee for speaker, was the best-known administration man from the Northern states; he could be seen surrounded by friends, a fat and jovial frontiersman, chewing tobacco and telling jokes. The spectators noted, too, William H. English, who was to be Winfield Scott Hancock's running mate in 1880, and the leather-lunged John Kelly of Tammany Hall.

The thirty pro-Nebraska Americans, most of whom had once been Southern Whigs, presented a less imposing spectacle. Among them were a few veterans—the bold and ponderous Humphrey Marshall, for example, and Felix K. Zollicoffer, who was to die of wounds, a Confederate general, in 1862. There were promising newcomers, but only the tall, calm Henry Winter Davis was to live up to expectations.

Most prominent among the Northern opponents of the administration was Giddings, stormy petrel of the antislavery cause, tall and sallow-faced, looking very stern and very old in his deacon's clothes. Much pointed out were the leading candidates for speaker: the slight and nervous, self-centered Lewis D. Campbell, old Ohio Whig-Free Soiler who had led the House fight against the Nebraska bill; Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, Democrat, Republican, and American rolled into one, a well-groomed, aristocratic-looking man who bore himself erect and looked about with a coolness that bordered at once on dignity and haughtiness; Alexander C. M. Pennington and Henry M. Fuller,

ex-Whig Americans from New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Besides, one could see three tall and striking first-term members, gaunt, side-whiskered Justin S. Morrill, John Sherman, who rivaled Brooks in manly beauty, and large-boned "Honest John" Covode. The scurrying, theatrical Anson Burlingame was there, as was the imposing Galusha A. Grow, with his lumberman's muscles and his bullying glare; Russell Sage and Schuyler Colfax and the three Washburn brothers; John Scott Harrison, son of one president and father of another; and Dr. Calvin C. Chaffee, who was to marry the owner of Dred Scott.

These were the abler representatives. Others, less known to fame, were to do as much to give the Thirty-fourth Congress its tone: Elisha D. Cullen and Thomas F. Bowie, for example, to be known for their appearances and speechmaking while under the influence of strong drink; and Philemon T. Herbert, who was to shoot a waiter at Willard's and go scot-free but to fall later fighting in the War between the States. There was an unusually large number of clergymen and doctors and farmers and petty politicians, men swept into Congress by the anti-Nebraska uprising and the Know Nothing movement, many of them in the position of Richard Mott of Ohio, who frankly admitted that neither he nor any one else had dreamed he would be elected. The gallery visitors might well have regarded these men with interest, for in a House where every vote counted, each was a force to be reckoned with.¹⁴

The balloting began very shortly after John Forney, clerk of the Thirty-third, called the House to order, and it was at once apparent how completely divided the antislavery men were.¹⁵ No less than seventeen anti-Nebraska candidates were balloted for, and no one of them received as many as a quarter of the total votes cast. Campbell, the leading antislavery-extension candidate, trailed Richardson by over twenty votes and was sixty short of the majority needed to elect a speaker. And, what was more, four members elected as anti-Nebraska

¹⁴ Based on contemporary newspaper accounts, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), and various MSS.

¹⁵ Greeley to Charles A. Dana, December 2, 1855, in *New York Sun*, May 19, 1889. See, also, *New York Courier and Enquirer*, December 5, 1855.

Democrats supported Richardson, while three antislavery-extension Know Nothings voted for Marshall, the South or pro-Nebraska American candidate.¹⁶ The next three ballots brought no material change, whereupon the Richardson and Marshall men, aided by a few hungry anti-Nebraska men, forced adjournment.

Despite this showing, the majority of the antislavery-extension men were determined to continue working for union. Banks, who had been gaining in favor for days,¹⁷ was mentioned more and more frequently as the logical antislavery-extension candidate, the man who could unite all factions and in particular capture the votes of the anti-Nebraska Democrats who would not vote for a former Whig like Campbell.¹⁸ But, Campbell, being the leading candidate, could not be shunted aside unceremoniously. It was finally determined, at a general anti-Nebraska conference, to force the Ohioan as high as possible and then, if it was shown he could not be elected, try Banks, and, Banks failing, Pennington.¹⁹

The plan was tried on December 5, the third day of balloting. Campbell, starting with forty-eight votes, rocketed to seventy-five on the third (twelfth) ballot, reaching eighty-one before the day had closed, as Banks fell from thirty-seven to eight. But eighty-one votes was thirty short of a majority. The conservative antislavery-extension men who were backing Fuller would not join the movement, and the anti-Nebraska Democrats were also adamant. Besides, Campbell could not hold the votes he had obtained. His support crumbled the next morning, and he soon fell to forty-six votes, his lowest level of the contest.

Plainly it was time to try Banks or Pennington; but factional jealousies interfered. It was not a difference of opinion on a matter of

¹⁶ Statistics and analyses based on records of votes in *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 3-337 (December 3, 1855-February 2, 1856).

¹⁷ *New York Herald*, December 3, 1855; *New York Tribune*, December 1, 3, 4, 1855.

¹⁸ *New York Courier and Enquirer*, December 3, 1855; *New York Tribune*, December 3, 4, 1855; *New York Herald*, December 3, 4, 1855. But, see Greeley to Dana, December 1, 1855, in *New York Sun*, May 19, 1889 ("I am doing what I can for Banks; but he won't be Speaker"); *New York Courier and Enquirer*, December 6, 7, 1855.

¹⁹ Giddings to the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, December 6, 1855, quoted in the *New York Herald*, December 31, 1855.

principle. It was merely that Campbell had not yet abandoned hope and that the Banks men, fearing Pennington, suggested that the New Jersey man be tried (and killed off) first, thus leaving the field to Banks.²⁰ In the confusion it was decided to try Campbell again. This drive failed dismally, and the Ohioan withdrew from the race; but he did so with bad grace, making it plain that he felt badly used.²¹ For the duration of the contest he brooded on his defeat and frequently, quite obviously in spite, voted against his antislavery-extension colleagues. Thus does ambition temper doctrine.

The anti-Nebraska men felt relieved when Campbell withdrew; some murmured, "This will decide the question."²² But the next roll call showed no concentration of antislavery-extension strength; Banks, the leading antiadministration candidate, had barely forty votes. Even after a night of conferences,²³ he was still short of a majority. Still, some progress was made. On December 8, the Massachusetts man spurted from eighty-six to a hundred votes, and two days later he picked up seven more to come within a half dozen votes of victory. There he stuck.

Campbell, eating his heart out with chagrin, now termed Banks a "dead cock in the pit,"²⁴ and the Pennington men clamored for their turn. But wiser counsels prevailed. The Pennington men were voted down in caucus and Banks was made the official nominee of the anti-Nebraska forces.²⁵

There were now two major tasks before the antislavery men—keeping their lines intact and winning over the anti-Nebraska representatives who refused to vote for Banks. In neither case was the task an easy one. In and out of the Banks column were many antislavery men who thought

²⁰ *New York Herald*, December 12, 31 (quoting Giddings), 1855. Note, also, *New York Courier and Enquirer*, December 6, 7, 1855.

²¹ See his hint that other antislavery candidates were prepared to sacrifice principle or make committee commitments. *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 11 (December 7, 1855); *New York Herald*, December 6, 8, 1855; *New York Courier and Enquirer*, December 28, 1855; *New York Times*, January 30, 1856.

²² *New York Herald*, December 8, 1855.

²³ *Ibid.*, December 31, 1855, quoting Giddings.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, December 11, 1855.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, December 15, 1855; *New York Times*, December 15, 1855; *New York Tribune*, December 15, 1855.

Banks too extreme or too mild a candidate. There were anti-Nebraska Americans who quite correctly questioned the sincerity of his nativism. There were protectionists who thought him a free trader, members who disliked him personally, men who craved the speakership or wanted the credit of casting the deciding vote, representatives who stayed away because they were irritated at the New York *Tribune's* acid comments about members who hesitated to vote for Banks. And lastly, there were the Fuller men.

For, while Banks was driving towards a hundred votes, Fuller was deserting the anti-Nebraska cause. Perhaps, feeling himself unappreciated by his anti-Nebraska colleagues, the Pennsylvanian saw a chance to win the speakership by building a combination of the pro-Nebraska Americans, the administration Democrats, and his personal friends. At any rate, he began flirting with Marshall and Richardson representatives as early as the sixth of December;²⁶ and by the eighth, to the amazement of observers, he had become the pro-Nebraska Know Nothing candidate for speaker.²⁷ True, he lost most of his antislavery-extension backers in the process,²⁸ but he retained enough to cause the Banks men much concern. After all, Banks needed less than half a dozen votes to win.

To their credit as politicians, it may be said that the Banks men managed the situation very well. Their candidate did his bit. He looked the part and, in spite of obstacles and insults, displayed a composure that stirred both friend and foe to admiration.²⁹ At the same time, he worked constantly in his own interests. When assailed as an extremist, he denied connection with the abolitionists, repudiated the sentiments of a speech in which he had said, "I am not one of that class of men who cry for the perpetuation of the Union. . . . I am willing in a certain

²⁶ New York *Herald*, December 8, 1855; New York *Tribune*, December 7, 1855.

²⁷ Some pro-Nebraska Americans may have supported Fuller to prevent Fuller's Northern supporters from stampeding to Banks. New York *Tribune*, December 10, 1855.

²⁸ Note their December 5 attitude to observe suddenness of shift. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1855; New York *Times*, December 6, 1855.

²⁹ Charles F. Adams: "If I was [*sic*] in your place, I should not be able to stand the insulting mode in which they attack you." Banks: "Oh, it is the easiest thing in life to me; I can bear it." Boston *Traveller*, February 29, 1856, quoting speech by Adams; New York *Herald*, December 11, 23, 1855; Boston *Journal*, January 14, 1856.

set of circumstances to 'let it slide,'"³⁰ and gave private assurances that brought at least one wavering representative into line.³¹ When scattering antislavery-extension members raised the opposite objection—that the Massachusetts man was halfhearted in his opposition to human bondage—he publicly proclaimed that he was the true representative of "the strongest anti-slavery district in the United States."³² He wisely asserted his ignorance of bargains entered into by his followers but was ready enough to write letters and sign petitions defending the course of any supporter who was under fire.³³

Naturally, however, it was Banks' sponsors who did the spade work for the cause. A steering group, led by Burlingame, Colfax, and the Washburns, met every other night to map out plans for action; and when there was danger of a bolt, these men saw to it that the prospective bolters had showers of letters and telegrams from their constituencies, urging them to "stick to Banks."³⁴ There was much missionary work among the intransigent antislavery-extension men who held out against the Massachusetts candidate. James Buffington and Timothy Davis, popular Bay State Americans, moved among the Know Nothings. Giddings talked to Western protectionists like Harrison. Burlingame, Greeley, and Senator Henry Wilson were everywhere, cajoling, threatening, rounding up members for the roll calls. Banks representatives made offers of committee posts, and there was even talk of bribery. Banks had a slippery lobby agent, S. P. Hanscom, who did most effective work—possibly it was he who led Greeley to remark, privately, that he began "to see the utility of rascals in the general economy of things."³⁵

³⁰ Banks' famous "Union Slide" speech, clipping, Maine newspaper, summer, 1855, in Banks Scrapbooks, Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts (property of Mrs. Harold Page, Melrose, Massachusetts); *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 75 (December 24, 1855).

³¹ Edward Ball to Banks, December 10, 1855, in Banks MSS. Note Ball's votes after this date.

³² *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 28, 31, 32 (December 15, 17, 1855).

³³ Banks to an editor, January 4, 1856, Banks MSS.; *New York Tribune*, January 31, 1856.

³⁴ Schuyler Colfax, "Anson Burlingame," in the *Independent* (New York, Boston, 1848-), XXIII (1870), 87, listing Galusha A. Grow, Benjamin Stanton, William A. Howard, Anson Morrill, Francis E. Spinner, Aaron H. Cragin, Mason W. Tappan, and others; Day to John Bigelow, December 30, 1855, Bigelow MSS. (New York Public Library).

³⁵ *Boston Journal*, January 15, February 6, 1856; *New York Herald*, December 31, 1855,

Far more important was the way the Banks men used the contest to build up antislavery sentiment in the North. In Washington, one observed no death struggle between North and South; the whole thing appeared as a family fight among the anti-Nebraska men. But the antislavery-extension journalists and politicians, seeing their opportunity, began to picture the conflict as one between freedom and slavery, to brand the anti-Nebraska men who opposed Banks as "doughfaces," men who had sold out to the proslavery members. And these efforts met with success. Letters poured in advising congressmen to "stick to Banks," to stave off the "Slave Power" even if it meant balloting till March 4, 1857.³⁶ Undoubtedly, the contest tightened the hitherto scattered ranks of the anti-Nebraska men, and helped pave the way for the formation of a national antislavery-extension organization. It was during the contest, in the Christmas holidays at the Silver Springs conference,³⁷ that the antiadministration leaders began working for such a party. One understands why the Massachusetts antislavery-extension editor Samuel Bowles wrote Colfax: "God bless all you good fellows at Washington! You are making a great fight, and one of more importance and of vaster consequence than most people imagine. It is settling the next Presidential election and the new order of things, politically, for the next generation."³⁸

quoting Giddings; *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 89-90 (December 27, 1855); Greeley to Dana, February 16, 1856, in *New York Sun*, May 19, 1889; James F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, 9 vols. (New York, 1920), II, 72, citing H. H. Bancroft; John Savage, *Our Living Representative Men* (Philadelphia, 1860), 31; Benjamin Perley Poore, *Perley's Reminiscences of Sixty Years in the National Metropolis*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1886), I, 453.

³⁶ Edward Kent to Israel Washburn, December 15, 1855, in Gaillard Hunt, *Israel, Elihu and Cadwallader Washburn* (New York, 1925), 39; T. D. Eliot to Charles Sumner, January 10, 1856, Sumner MSS. (Harvard University Library); George Roberts to Banks, February 4, 1856, Banks MSS.; J. B. Russell to Day, January 12, 1856, in Day, *Man on a Hill Top*, 145; Theodore Parker to Sumner, January 14, 1856, in John Weiss, *Letters and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, 2 vols. (New York, 1864), II, 159; *New York Times*, January 3 (with offer of loan to Banks), 4, 1856.

³⁷ See William E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics*, 2 vols. (New York, 1933), II, 323-24; Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington*, 3 vols. (New York, 1891), II, 264.

³⁸ Samuel Bowles to Colfax, in O. J. Hollister, *Life of Schuyler Colfax* (New York, 1886), 87; Israel D. Andrews to Banks, January 12, 1856, and James M. Stone to Banks, January 25, 1856 ("Don't waver. The more votes for Speaker the better. The lines be-

Through December and into January, the contest wore on. In retrospect, it seemed exciting;³⁹ actually, it was often dull.⁴⁰ Washington in the fifties was no pleasant place at best, and it was not at its best with the members unpaid, some unable to pay for tobacco, and the temperature falling to six below zero. Distinguished visitors like former Speaker Andrew Stevenson, Salmon P. Chase, Thomas H. Benton, and Reverdy Johnson found little to write home about, with Banks holding his hundred votes, Richardson his seventy-odd, Fuller his score and a half, with a dozen scattering. Sometimes the end seemed in sight, but time and again hopes for an election proved illusory.⁴¹

As might have been expected, the air was full of schemes designed to force an organization. One member proposed that no one "be allowed to indulge in the use of meat, drink, fire, or other refreshments, gas-light and water only excepted, until an election of Speaker shall be effected." Another wanted each member balloted on in alphabetical order until some one secured a majority, a third suggested that every one resign and face a new election, while several thought it might be wise to take as speaker some nonmember. More sensible were the recurrent proposals for longer or continuous sessions, for the curtailment or prohibition of debate, for the appointment of a temporary speaker, and for election by plurality vote. Naturally, the plurality plan was the favorite of the Banks forces, and it was brought forth no less than fifteen times during the contest.⁴²

By Christmas, the administration men began talking of favoring a continuous session and the plurality rule. They were tiring of the contest, Pierce was anxious to send in his message, and there seemed a

tween the parties will be more firmly consolidated"), Banks MSS.; Giddings to daughter, February 1, 1856, Giddings-Julian MSS. (Library of Congress).

³⁹ John W. Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men* (New York, 1873), 373; and, especially, Colfax, "Anson Burlingame," *loc. cit.*, 87, for colorful, inaccurate descriptions.

⁴⁰ Senator William P. Fessenden to son, December, 1855, in Francis Fessenden, *Life and Public Services of William Pitt Fessenden*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1907), I, 70.

⁴¹ See Howell Cobb to Mrs. Cobb, December 23, 1855, in Phillips (ed.), *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens and Cobb*, 356; *New York Times*, December 28, 1855.

⁴² *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 34, 72, 139, 149, 235, 241 (December 17, 22, 1855; January 3, 4, 16, 1856); also, *ibid.*, 84-85 (December 26, 1855), for Lewis D. Campbell's interesting motion to make James L. Orr temporary speaker; *New York Courier and Enquirer*, December 24, 1855.

possibility of a Democratic victory if the pro-Nebraska Americans and other Fuller men were forced to choose between Richardson and Banks. But Stephens convinced Pierce he could send in his message anyway, and the Democratic caucus voted down the plurality rule.⁴³

January brought dramatic interludes—an all-night session and a “catechism.” The first, which took place on January 9-10, was proposed by Democratic leaders, mainly to keep restive followers from voting for election by plurality.⁴⁴ It accomplished this purpose, but no one lost and no one gained through eighteen hours of roll calls and buncombe oratory. By two in the morning the House dining counter was running low on provisions, and soon the hungry members had to content themselves with ginger cakes and coffee. Four o’clock saw the galleries thinning, the ill congressmen pairing off, and pages tying drowsy members to their chairs. At eight the pro-Nebraska men—Democrats, pro-slavery Americans, and Fuller men alike—united to vote adjournment.

Close on the night session came the “catechism.” Originating in a desire of Southern Americans to embarrass Richardson,⁴⁵ it developed into an investigation of the political views of the leading candidates. Before it was over, each had replied to two lists of questions covering such matters as slavery in the territories and the District of Columbia, the Fugitive Slave law, Know Nothingism, and the relative merits of the white and Negro races.⁴⁶

In their replies, Richardson and Fuller defended the Kansas-Nebraska Act as just to North and South alike, while Banks denounced it, stating it opened to slavery land consecrated to freedom in 1820. The Massachusetts man declared the Wilmot Proviso constitutional, said the Con-

⁴³ Stephens to brother, December 30, 1855, in Richard M. Johnston and William H. Browne, *Life of Alexander H. Stephens* (Philadelphia, 1878), 300-301; New York *Tribune*, December 29, 31, 1855. Stephens' plurality resolution passed but was rescinded immediately by Banks votes because Campbell brought forward a motion to make Orr temporary speaker.

⁴⁴ Boston *Journal*, January 14, 1856; New York *Times*, January 12, 1856; New York *Tribune*, January 10, 11, 14, 1856; Morrill to Mrs. Morrill, January 10, 1856, in Parker, *Justin Smith Morrill*, 63; Colfax's letter, in Hollister, *Schuyler Colfax*, 88; Stephens to brother, January 8, 1856, Johnston and Browne, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 302.

⁴⁵ Also to kill time. New York *Courier and Enquirer*, January 14, 1856.

⁴⁶ Cong. *Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 222-28 (January 12, 1856), for questions and answers.

stitution did not follow the flag, and maintained Congress had power to prohibit slavery in the territories. Fuller took the opposite view, denying Congress and the territorial legislatures power to legislate at all on slavery in the territories, except to protect the property of slave-owners. Richardson compromised, stating that the Constitution and Fugitive Slave law applied to the territories while hedging on the question of the constitutionality of the Wilmot Proviso and asserting that the Constitution did not carry slavery into the territories. Fuller and Richardson both voiced opposition to abolition of slavery in the District and both stated that the Negro was inferior to the white man; Banks declined to answer the District question and dismissed the second question by alluding to the Declaration of Independence and proposing "to wait until time should determine the superiority of the black or the white race, by one of them absorbing the other."⁴⁷ He half dodged the Know Nothing query by referring to his record while Richardson attacked and Fuller defended nativism.

The catechism affected the fortune of each candidate. The Democratic ultras were offended at Richardson's failure to declare the Wilmot Proviso unconstitutional, and three South Carolinians deserted him on the next (108th) roll call.⁴⁸ Banks found himself so assailed as an "amalgamationist" that he publicly corrected his remarks on race absorption; but meanwhile he had frightened moderates and hurt the chances for the passage of a plurality resolution.⁴⁹ And Fuller had strengthened his hold on the pro-Nebraska Americans; on the next ballot he equalled his previous high, while Richardson and Banks were nine and thirteen respectively behind their record totals.

The Democrats made the next move. Pressed by Pierce,⁵⁰ and realiz-

⁴⁷ Uncorrected account, in *Boston Journal*, January 15, 1856. Perhaps intended as a jest, Banks' statement was greeted with roars of laughter. *Ibid.*; *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 227 (January 12, 1856); *New York Evening Post*, January 14, 1856.

⁴⁸ *New York Evening Post*, January 15, 1856; *New York Times*, January 17, 1856. "By G-d, we've been voting for a free soiler all along," said one.

⁴⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 233-34, 253 (January 15, 18, 1856); *New York Day Book*, January 15, 1856; *New York Courier and Enquirer*, January 16, 1856; *New York Herald*, January 15, 18, 1856; *Boston Journal*, January 18, 22, 1856.

⁵⁰ *Washington National Intelligencer*, January 3, 7, 23, 1856, shows a type of intraparty pressure.

ing the need of some sort of organization to enable the administration to carry on its normal functions, they moved to compromise. If the antislavery-extension men would withdraw Banks, they said, they would vote for a plurality resolution.⁵¹ When the anti-Nebraska leaders would not give ground, Albert Rust, a burly, first-term Democrat from Arkansas, introduced a resolution to force compliance—one that implied that personal ambitions stood in the way of organization and called for the withdrawal of the leading candidates. Aimed at Banks, the resolution missed its target; the Massachusetts man held his ground, and on January 23 his friends, with the aid of half a dozen administration Democrats, managed to get the resolution shelved.⁵² It did, however, lead to the substitution of Orr for Richardson as the Democratic candidate.⁵³

From this time on, attention centered on efforts to force through the plurality rule. There were distractions—some general votes on questions of principle, Rust's attack on Greeley for denouncing the Arkansas member's resolution—but discussion always reverted to the plurality matter. Administration men as well as Banks members began to support it at last. On January 30, Clingman moved it, in the 1849 form (a plurality to elect on the fourth successive roll call if no one obtained a majority before that time) and five party colleagues joined the North Carolinian in its support. It was defeated, but by a narrow margin, 106 to 110. The next day it was closer still, 108 to 110, and its eventual passage seemed assured.

Noting the circumstances, Stephens concocted a plan. The Democrats would let the plurality rule pass, have two ballots under it and then, if the pro-Nebraska Americans failed to go to Orr (a convinced opponent of nativism), substitute William Aiken, a Pierce man who did not attend Democratic caucuses and had not committed himself against the Know Nothings. The plan was privately endorsed by Democratic and

⁵¹ Sumner to Parker, January 20, 1856, in Pierce (ed.), *Charles Sumner*, III, 426; rejected at two party caucuses, *New York Times*, January 17, 1856; *New York Tribune*, January 21, 1856.

⁵² *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 280, 283 (January 23, 1856). Probably formulated by Stephens, Thomas L. Clingman, Humphrey Marshall, and George Dunn. See Greeley, in *New York Tribune*, January 23, 1856.

⁵³ *New York Tribune*, January 24, 1856, including account of Banks caucuses.

Southern American leaders and might well have succeeded in giving the House an administration speaker had it been kept secret. But on February 1, before the plurality resolution had been adopted, Kelly of New York and Williamson R. W. Cobb of Alabama moved that Aiken be elected speaker. The members not being under the pressure of plurality, the motion failed, 103 to 110, and the golden opportunity for a surprise victory was gone.⁵⁴

Even so, there seemed more than an outside chance that Aiken could beat Banks under a plurality rule. He had secured 103 votes on the motion to declare him speaker, whereas Banks had received but 100 on a similar motion a few minutes before.⁵⁵ Aiken had effected a coalition of the Democratic, Fuller, and Southern American pro-Nebraska groups and appealed to certain members who had hitherto thrown their votes away. Thus it was that Joshua Giddings tossed sleeplessly on his bed that night of February 1, and President Pierce, spying Aiken at the White House reception, addressed the white-haired planter as "Mr. Speaker."⁵⁶

The House was packed the next morning, for every one felt the contest would be decided that day. Both sides seemed confident when Pierce's friend, Samuel A. Smith, moved the familiar plurality resolution, calling for plurality election on the fourth successive ballot. The motion prevailed, 113 to 104, as 9 Pierce Democrats and 1 Fuller man joined the Banks group in the majority.⁵⁷ Attempts to rescind or force adjournment were unsuccessful, and the final balloting began.

On the first (130th) ballot Banks had 102 votes, Aiken 93, while 14 Know Nothings clung to Fuller, and 6 members scattered. The next

⁵⁴ Stephens to brother, February 1, 1856, in Johnston and Browne, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 305-306; *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 334-35 (February 1, 1856). Kelly anticipated Cobb, but the vote was on Cobb's resolution.

⁵⁵ There is evidence, however, that this was arranged by the Banks men to lead their foes to adopt the plurality rule. Jacob Broom to Banks, August 11, 1858, Banks MSS., indicating that Broom and Thomas R. Whitney changed from nay to aye on that resolution to "make a larger vote on that resolution than on the one declaring you Speaker" and lead the Democrats "to the adoption of the plurality rule, which at last put an end to the agony of the contest."

⁵⁶ Giddings to daughter, February 9, 1856, Giddings-Julian MSS.; New York *Commercial Advertiser*, February 6, 1856; New York *Times*, February 6, 1856.

⁵⁷ *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 335 (February 2, 1856). Greeley claimed other Democrats would have joined had their votes been needed (New York *Tribune*, February

roll call brought no change of consequence, a motion for adjournment failed, and the third ballot was taken, Aiken falling off one vote. Again a few Democrats and pro-Nebraska Americans pressed for adjournment; again they were outvoted, and the roll was called once more, for the 133rd ballot, the last under Smith's resolution.

Acting under pressure and assured that Aiken was not antinativist,⁵⁸ seven pro-Nebraska Know Nothings now switched to the Carolinian. But seven were not enough. Five Americans who had supported the Aiken resolution the night before voted for Fuller or abstained.⁵⁹ One Pierce Democrat withheld, another wasted his vote because of dislike for associating with Know Nothings. Threats and entreaties were of no avail. A Fuller man, asked to switch to Aiken to save the Union, replied "I'll be — if I do!" No change was made even as Samuel P. Benson, the anti-Nebraska teller, rose to announce the result. There was only a cry of "Licked, by thunder!" from a Southern representative and "Got 'em, boys" from a Banks man. The Clerk bawled for order, and Benson stated the result: Banks, 103, Aiken, 100, Fuller, 6, Campbell, 4, and Daniel Wells, 1.⁶⁰

The announcement was greeted with wild applause,⁶¹ but the contest was not quite over. Some of the minority claimed there had been no election, that the House must adopt a resolution declaring Banks elected before he could serve. The resulting confusion was not resolved until Aiken, like the true gentleman he was, asked permission to escort Banks to the chair. The request was met with shouts of approval, and the House soon declared in formal resolution that Banks had been elected speaker.⁶²

6, 1856), but this does not mean that the entire party favored the move. William W. Boyce and George W. Jones fought vigorously for reconsideration.

⁵⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 86, 338, insert, 355 (February 2, 4, 1856), for account of last minute assurances Aiken gave Alexander K. Marshall, *Kentucky American*.

⁵⁹ See n. 55.

⁶⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 335-36 (February 2, 1856); *New York Times*, February 6, 1856.

⁶¹ Giddings to daughter, February 3, 1856, Giddings-Julian MSS.; *New York Times*, February 6, 1856; Morrill to Mrs. Morrill, February 3, 1856, in Parker, *Justin Smith Morrill*, 74. These statements do not square with Colfax, "Anson Burlingame," *loc cit.*, 87, which inaccurately pictures the 1856 gallery as "Slave Power" dominated.

⁶² *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 342 (February 2, 1856). The vote: 155 to 40, with

The formalities remained, and they were impressive ones. Banks, with his politician's sense and a flair for the theatrical, did not stop on the steps as his predecessors had done—he walked up and placed his hand on the speaker's desk. As he did so, the Sergeant-at-Arms elevated the mace for the first time that session, Forney passed up the gavel, and Giddings prepared to administer the oath.⁶³ The speakership contest was over.

Throughout the country the result was viewed in many lights. Most Southern Democrats saw it as a triumph of abolitionism, a sign of trouble ahead. Stephens termed it the first purely sectional triumph in a speakership contest,⁶⁴ while Robert Toombs wrote, "The election of Banks has given great hopes to our enemies, and their policy is dangerous in the extreme to us."⁶⁵ Others went further still. The *Charleston Mercury*, speaking of the victor, said, "never will conscience, or justice, or the Constitution, obtrude their voice in the execution of his appointed task. The creature of party, and the tool of fanaticism, who can foretell his course?"⁶⁶

There were those among the Democrats and pro-Nebraska Americans who looked on Banks' victory as a misfortune rather than a calamity. Pierce's organ, the *Washington Union*, stated that "although the result is one which every national man will regret, yet . . . there is reason for acquiescing, inasmuch as it enables the machinery of government to

Southern Americans and malcontents like Albert Rust making up the minority. Morrill to Mrs. Morrill, February 3, 1856, in Parker, *Justin Smith Morrill*, 74: "They fought us at every step, and even after Banks was elected continued the fight, a portion of them, for two hours like graceless, bully blackguards."

⁶³ Samuel C. Busey, *Personal Reminiscences and Recollections* (Washington, 1895); Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men*, 381; Sumner to Adams, February 5, 1856, in Pierce (ed.), *Charles Sumner*, III, 451; New York *Evening Post*, September 9, 1857; *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 343 (February 4, 1856); Giddings to daughter, February 3, 1856, Giddings-Julian MSS.; Simonton, in New York *Times*, February 6, 1856.

⁶⁴ Stephens to brother, in Johnston and Browne, *Alexander H. Stephens*, 305. Note that Banks "avoided the usual pledge to save the Union," according to Simonton, in New York *Times*, February 6, 1856.

⁶⁵ Toombs to Thomas W. Thomas, February 9, 1856, in Phillips (ed.), *Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens and Cobb*, 361.

⁶⁶ Quoted in New York *Times*, February 9, 1856; also, New York *Evening Post*, February 8, 1856, and New York *Courier and Enquirer*, February 14, 1856, quoting Southern newspapers.

move on."⁶⁷ And the editors of other papers, including the *Louisville Journal*, the *Baltimore Patriot*, and the *National Intelligencer*, rejoiced that the long ordeal was over.⁶⁸

To the antislavery men, the victory seemed a stupendous one. Hundred gun salutes were fired in Maine, in Massachusetts, and in Illinois.⁶⁹ Congratulations poured in from every Northern state,⁷⁰ and journalists and politicians wrote poetically of the result: "on Saturday we were in the wood, the dark and dreary forest was around us," wrote Giddings, "but on Monday we were in the promised land which flowed with milk and honey."⁷¹

Those who rejoiced harped on one theme—the sectional character of the victory. To them, the contest seemed, not a factional brawl among the antiadministration men, but a glorious struggle with the forces of slavery. "There *is* a North!" they cried. "For once in forty years the North has exhibited something of manly strength." "Banks' election is the first victory of the Northern idea since 1787."⁷²

Most of all, it was the future that intrigued these celebrators. "The North has obtained . . . a victory which is principally valuable as the key and precursor to a perpetual supremacy over the national government," said the *New York Evening Post*. Giddings, reviewing the contest, wrote, "we have got our party formed, consolidated and established"; and the astute Thurlow Weed commented, "This triumph is

⁶⁷ *Washington Union*, February 4, 1856, quoted in *New York Times*, February 5, 1856.

⁶⁸ *Washington National Intelligencer*, February 4, 1856; *Louisville Journal* and *Baltimore Patriot*, both quoted in *New York Evening Post*, February 9, 1856, believed Banks could do little harm; *Wochenblatt der Neu-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, February 9, 1856, Democratic, deplored the election as a Know Nothing triumph; a *New York Herald* correspondent noted lack of interest in Mobile, Alabama. *New York Herald*, February 12, 1856.

⁶⁹ *New York Times*, February 5, 6, 1856.

⁷⁰ Banks MSS. contain many of these letters.

⁷¹ Giddings to daughter, February 9, 1856, Giddings-Julian MSS. See, also, *id.* to *id.*, February 3, 1856.

⁷² Simonton, in *New York Times*, February 4, 1856; Morrill to Mrs. Morrill, February 3, 1856, in Parker, *Justin Smith Morrill*, 75; Parker to Sumner, February 16, 1856, in Pierce (ed.), *Charles Sumner*, III, 427; Sumner to Adams, February 5, 1856, *ibid.*, 431; George Livermore to Sumner, February 4, 1856, Sumner MSS.; Dorris Clark to Banks, Banks MSS.; Israel Washburn, Jr., quoted in *Boston Journal*, October 10, 1857; Sumner to Massachusetts Committee, February 25, 1856, in Charles Sumner, *The Complete Works of Charles Sumner*, 15 vols. (Boston, 1900), V, 97.

worth all it cost in time, toil, and solicitude . . . [for] the Republican party is now inaugurated. We can work with a will."⁷³

In time, men ceased to think of the contest in their excitement over other things, in their interest in bleeding Kansas and Preston Brooks and the Buchanan-Frémont campaign. But, beyond question, the nine weeks of struggle had done much to North and South. It had all but killed Know Nothingism in the North, by causing the anti-Nebraska Americans to cast their lot with other, nonnativist, antislavery factions.⁷⁴ It had served to demonstrate that, in the last resort, the pro-Nebraska Americans were allies of the Southern Democrats. It had created ill-feeling between the sections. In December, Fayette McMullen of Virginia had been greeted with roars of laughter when he had threatened Southern secession if the Missouri Compromise was restored or the Fugitive Slave law repealed.⁷⁵ In January, a new bitterness could be seen in Rust's assault on Greeley, in Bowie's bellowed threats in the barrooms, and in the fact that Northern men were buying pistols.⁷⁶ For, faction fight though it had been in its inception, the speakership contest had served to increase sectional hostility. One could read the dismal future in the comment of William Lloyd Garrison in his *Liberator*. "Let us hope," wrote the abolitionist, "that this result is but the first gun at Lexington of the new Revolution. If so, then Bunker Hill and Yorktown are before us! All we have to do is press onward—right onward!"⁷⁷ Onward to war.

⁷³ New York *Evening Post*, February 8, 1856; Giddings to daughter, February 1, 1856, Giddings-Julian MSS.; Thurlow Weed to Banks, February 3, 1856, Banks MSS.

⁷⁴ See Stone to Banks, December 8, 1855, Banks MSS., of Banks and the anti-Nebraska Americans, "your election makes their cake dough next year."

⁷⁵ *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., 61 (December 20, 1855); New York *Tribune*, December 24, 1855.

⁷⁶ Greeley to Dana, January 30, 1856, in New York *Sun*, May 19, 1889; Parker, *Justin Smith Morrill*, 63, noting Spinner's estimate that there were 300 loaded pistols in the hall and galleries one day.

⁷⁷ Boston *Liberator*, February 8, 1856. See, also, B. Rush Plumly to Banks, March 27, 1856, Banks MSS., for Wendell Phillips' favorable reaction. The "first Republican victory" tradition can be seen in Boston *Journal*, February 14, 1856; John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life*, 4 vols. (New York, 1909-1913), I, 141; Horace Greeley, *Recollections of a Busy Life* (New York, 1873), 351-52; Rhodes, *History of the United States*, II, 74; Arthur C. Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870, The Centennial History of Illinois*, III (Springfield, 1919), 142; George H. Haynes, "Nathaniel P. Banks," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 577-80.

The Slave Insurrection Panic of 1856

By HARVEY WISH

In the fall of 1856 a series of startling allegations regarding numerous slave insurrections broke through the habitual reserve maintained on the topic by the Southern press. Wild rumors of an all-embracing slave plot extending from Delaware to Texas, with execution set for Christmas day, spread through the South. Tales were yet unforgotten of Gabriel's "army" attempting to march on Richmond in 1800, of Denmark Vesey's elaborate designs upon Charleston in 1822, of Nat Turner's bloody insurrection at Southampton, Virginia, in 1831, and of the various other plots and outbreaks that characterized American slavery since the days of the early slave ship mutinies.¹ Silence in the press could not stem the recurrent fears of insurrection transmitted by the effective "grapevine" intelligence of the South.

Sectional passions were stirred almost to the bursting point in the year of the Buchanan-Frémont presidential election. The provocative events in "bleeding Kansas," intensified by extremists on both sides, revealed a miniature civil war that was prophetic of worse things to come; the assault on Senator Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks of South Carolina furnished a fresh opportunity for displaying mutual hatreds; abolitionists and Southern extremists vied with each other in "dis-unionist conventions"; and unwittingly the Supreme Court poured oil on these flames in the Dred Scott hearings. New economic factors further complicated the situation as the final months of a boom era brought the price of slaves to high levels, inspiring a proposal by Governor James H.

¹ For a summary of slave plots and slave ship mutinies, see the writer's article, "American Slave Insurrections Before 1861," in *Journal of Negro History* (Lancaster, Pa., Washington, 1916-), XXII (1937), 299-320.

Adams of South Carolina that the foreign slave trade be reopened.² Although this suggestion became the target of severe criticisms within the South itself, the Northern press regarded it as a fresh provocation.

Worst of all for the cause of conciliation in the eyes of Northern moderates as well as Southerners appeared the ominous rise of the frankly sectional Republican party in 1856 to a position challenging national control. The presidential candidacy of John C. Frémont, like that of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, lent itself to opponents' charges of hostility to the South and seemed to sanction threats of disunion. Contemporary opinion, with remarkably few exceptions, attributed the revival of slave plots to the excitement wrought by the national election. The New York *Herald* of December 11, 1856, editorializing on the numerous slave plots, declared:

The simultaneous discovery of similar plots in various localities, remote from each other, can only be accounted for upon the hypothesis of some general delusion lately diffused throughout the South, and acted upon spontaneously here and there, by the negroes themselves. . . . The idea, no doubt, was that with Fremont's election all the negroes of the South would be instantly emancipated or supported from the North in a bloody revolt.

Likewise the Manchester *Guardian* of December 23, observing the American scene, showed an intimate knowledge of the prevailing election excitement in the South:

The ferment excited in the minds of the masters soon extended itself to the slaves—for all who have lived in slave-holding communities well know how eagerly every scrap of parlor conversation, every excited harangue on the stump, or loud-toned dispute in the streets, is treasured by the negro and made the burden of kitchen comment during the hours of the night.³

Early reports of slave plots, partially disregarded before election day, revealed that several Texas counties had organized "Vigilance Com-

² The rising price of slaves was the subject of considerable newspaper comment in 1856. The firm of Dickinson, Hill, and Company, auctioneers of Richmond, Virginia, declared that the gross amount of their Negro sales for that year had reached the enormous sum of two million dollars and that the total for all Richmond houses was approximately twice that much. A Negro carpenter brought \$1,615, and a woman of fifty to sixty years of age sold for \$725 cash. New York *Herald*, January 16, 1857.

³ Editorial reprinted in *ibid.*, January 10, 1857. Frederick Law Olmsted, visiting the Lower South at this time, attributed the insurrections of 1856 to the incendiary remarks

mittees" upon the popular California model to investigate alarming tales of insurrection. A committee at Columbus, Colorado County, in the southeastern part of the state, wrote to the *Galveston News* on September 9 that they had discovered a well-organized plot to murder the entire white population. The slaves had in their possession large quantities of pistols, bowie knives, guns, and ammunition. A fantastic conspiratorial organization existed among them with the significant password, "Leave not a shadow behind." At a late hour of September 6 all were to make a simultaneous effort to kill the whites except for certain favored individuals. Two or more slaves were to be apportioned to each house for this purpose. Afterwards they would capture the horses about Columbus and fight their way to freedom in Mexico. More than two hundred Negroes and the entire Mexican element in the county appeared to be involved. There was no definite proof against the Mexicans although there were certain inferences. One of their number, a certain Frank, was believed to be the instigator of the plot. The committee passed a resolution "forever forbidding any Mexican from coming within the limits of the county." All resident Mexicans were ordered to leave the county within five days and never to return on penalty of death. Two Negroes were whipped to death and three others hanged.⁴ From the postmaster at Hallettsville, in adjacent Lavaca County, came the details of a proposed slave revolt under an Ohio abolitionist named Davidson and two others who were to lead the slaves to kill their masters, and to seize all available arms and ammunition for a flight to Mexico. Davidson was captured and confessed to the committee that the plot was planned for October 31.⁵ He was given a hundred lashes for his part in the conspiracy.⁶ During the panic a statement was issued from Harrison County, on the Louisiana border, that the rumors of insurrec-

made during the presidential election by ambitious Southern politicians who misrepresented the effects of a Frémont victory. *A Journey Through Texas* (New York, 1857), xxiv.

⁴ *New York Tribune*, November 1, 1856; *Boston Liberator*, October 3, 1856; Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas*, 503-504.

⁵ Letter of Postmaster Graves of Hallettsville, November 9, 1856, to the *Galveston Civilian*, reprinted in Lexington (Kentucky) *Observer and Reporter*, November 26, 1856.

⁶ *Maysville (Kentucky) Eagle*, December 13, 1856.

tion there had been exaggerated. Investigation had shown no evidence of an actual plot.⁷ This denial, repeated in many newspapers, preceded any actual news of difficulties in the locality.

The Texas incidents were but a prelude to the more serious slave plots which soon broke out in Tennessee and Kentucky, spreading panic into every Southern state. Robert Bunch, British consul at Charleston, reported to his government upon information learned from private sources that Nashville was the center of a projected servile insurrection involving the surrounding states.⁸ On October 29 a Negro girl belonging to G. W. Vandel, an engineer of Fayette County, Tennessee, revealed a plot set for the day of the presidential election when all the able-bodied white men would be away at the polls. After murdering and plundering the remaining citizens the slaves planned to go to Memphis where friends awaited them with arms. They then expected to escape to the free states. Vandel and his wife quickly confirmed this story by eavesdropping upon the slave cabins at night. Next day he had thirty-two slaves arrested and sufficient evidence adduced to commit twenty-three to jail at Somerville. A vigilance committee was hastily formed as the community became aroused. One member wrote to the *Memphis Enquirer*:

Facts were brought to light sufficient to satisfy all present, not only of the guilty intentions of some six or eight of the Negroes arrested, but it was made clear to the minds of thinking men present, that the thing was not confined to this particular neighborhood, but that they expected to act in concert with various others in the surrounding counties and States.⁹

A week later further excitement broke out when twenty-four guns and two kegs of powder were discovered in the possession of slaves at Columbia, Maury County. Similar reports of slave plots came from Frank-

⁷ *Ibid.*, December 18, 1856. For similar evidences of unrest in Louisiana and Texas, see James Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States* (London, 1857), 300.

⁸ Laura A. White, "The South in the 1850's as Seen by British Consuls," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935-), I (1935), 29-48.

⁹ Letter of W. E. Eppes of Fayette County to Col. J. P. Pryor, November 2, 1856, in *Boston Liberator*, November 28, 1856.

lin County. A panic in Perry County resulted in the killing of ten or twelve Negroes by their owners.¹⁰

Perhaps the most terror-stricken community of the entire South in 1856 comprised Stewart and Montgomery counties, Tennessee, on the western border of Kentucky. Although the combined slave population appeared to be 12,000 while the whites were at least 19,000, at many points the Negroes outnumbered the rest of the community. In the iron district on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers there were eight to ten thousand slaves employed at the various iron works making charcoal, aiding in mining operations, and tending furnaces under the supervision of a few white overseers. Many of the plants were within several miles of each other, some in sections containing few white inhabitants. In the neighborhood of Louisa Furnace, Montgomery County, a keg of gun powder was found beneath a church. A large collection of arms and ammunition had also been discovered and seized. On the morning of November 21, a Negro, Britton, belonging to S. D. Raimey, was heard arousing the slaves, presumably for an outbreak, but his actual words appeared to have been unintelligible. When Britton resisted an overseer's order to halt he was instantly shot.¹¹ A white man, who was alleged to have been counseling insurrection at the time of his capture, was imprisoned. The slaves, organized as "generals" and "captains," had, according to their confessions, planned an uprising for Christmas day. They were to march on Clarksville, the county seat, capture the town, plunder its banks, and then flee to the North.¹² A citizen wrote that "The plot is deep laid and embraces the slaves throughout a wide extent of territory, ranging from Kentucky South and West."¹³ At Clarksville a strong special patrol was on duty every night; it was reported that every housekeeper was prepared with arms for any emergency. By December 11 the *Nashville Union and American* observed:

¹⁰ *Louisville Journal*, November 9, 1856, quoted in *Boston Liberator*, December 12, 1856; also in *Baltimore Sun*, December 11, 1856.

¹¹ *New York Herald*, December 12, 1856.

¹² *Nashville Banner*, November 27, 1856, quoted in *Boston Liberator*, December 12, 1856; *Maysville Eagle*, December 6, 1856.

¹³ *Maysville Eagle*, December 6, 1856.

"Quite a panic has existed in parts of the State during the last two weeks growing out of some discovered plots for insurrection among the slaves. . . . Let the people of the South watch bad white men who come among us in sheep's clothing."¹⁴ The city council of Clarksville notified the ironmasters and other owners of slaves on December 17 that no visiting slave would be permitted to remain in the town for more than two hours unless accompanied by some "responsible white person" on penalty of twenty lashes.¹⁵ Slaves having their master's written permission were exempted. Other stringent rules designed to regulate the holiday activities of the Negro were laid down to avoid contacts of other slaves with those of Clarksville.

At Dover, chief town in adjacent Stewart County, an intense feeling of panic over reports of slave plots developed during the first week of November. The editor of the *Courrier des Etats Unis*, visiting this area on December 2, found the entire white population including the children armed and organized for defense. A Negro, who had escaped from the Cumberland Iron Works to avoid taking part in a conspiracy, made such revelations as to cause the arrest of nearly eighty slaves, "almost all of whom avowed their complicity in the plot and even gave the most precise details as to the execution of their project."¹⁶ Three whites, former members of the Free Soil party, were arrested on a charge of inciting a riot, then beaten, and driven out of the state; and a Negro abolitionist preacher was arrested. The plot, which had been set for Christmas day, was believed to have contemplated a general massacre of whites, the capture of Dover, and escape to the North. As new confessions were wrung from the slaves, the panic spread from the Cumberland River to the Memphis region. Nineteen Negroes were eventually hanged at Dover.¹⁷ The jails in many of the counties were crowded with suspects and the county courts in each district were quickly assembled

¹⁴ Quoted in New York *Tribune*, December 20, 1856.

¹⁵ Baltimore *Sun*, December 18, 1856.

¹⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, December 13, 1856.

¹⁷ Evansville (Indiana) *Journal*, December 9, 1856, quoted in Boston *Liberator*, December 26, 1856; Baltimore *Sun*, December 15, 1856. A white man, one Hurd, suspected of inciting slaves to rebellion, was captured in Memphis, taken across to Arkansas, and given a thousand lashes. Maysville *Eagle*, January 8, 1857.

to hear the terror-stricken prisoners. Vigilance committees and patrols were appointed for each neighborhood and township. Women and children emigrated to more populous districts. The atmosphere was ripe for the most exaggerated claims of slave uprisings. Sixty slaves belonging to Senator John Bell, then absent from the state, and employed in the Cumberland Iron Works were alleged to have been implicated; nine of these were hanged, four by court process and five by a mob. Bell, reputed to have been a kind master, lost some ten thousand dollars of slave property by the insurrection panic.¹⁸ Twenty-five iron furnaces ceased operations due to the common paralysis. During the prolonged excitement which lasted until January no actual slave outbreak occurred.¹⁹

On December 10 the Nashville city council increased the slave patrol for day and night duty. Negro schools and Negro preachings were forbidden; all assemblages of Negroes after sundown were likewise prohibited. Free Negroes coming in from other counties and free resident Negroes, "if found in suspicious circumstances," were to be arrested.²⁰ Nashville experienced many wild rumors regarding anticipated uprisings but investigating committees were unable to discover any definite evidence of such plots. In neighboring Gallatin County, a citizen wrote, "Our town has presented one continuous scene of excitement during the past week."²¹ Investigation, he claimed, established the fact of a plot

¹⁸ Dispatch, dated December 16, in *New York Tribune*, December 20, 1856. The *Tribune's* correspondent reported: "The insurrectionary movement in Tennessee obtained more headway than is known to the public—important facts being suppressed in order to check the spread of the contagion." *Ibid.*; *Baltimore Sun*, December 24, 1856.

¹⁹ According to the informants of the *New York Tribune*, the confessions appeared spurious. Actually, a story had been circulated among the slaves "that Col. Fremont with a numerous force to back him, was waiting at the bottom of the Cumberland River for Christmas night to come, when he and his army were to emerge from the river to aid in the deliverance of the slaves. The fact that he was there was proved by the sudden rise in the river, which was insisted upon as being caused by the great number of men and boats collected at the bottom. Believing that Fremont's powder would be dampened, the Blacks attempted to buy up a store of it for him. . . . It does not appear that they expected to do anything for themselves." *Ibid.*, December 20, 1856.

²⁰ *Baltimore Sun*, December 13, 1856; *Boston Liberator*, December 19, 1856; *Maysville Eagle*, January 8, 1857. The *Louisville Democrat* reported that there was a movement on foot in Tennessee to banish free Negroes beyond the border of the state. *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, January 7, 1857.

²¹ *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, December 20, 1856; *Baltimore Sun*, December 18, 1856.

but the extent of organization was not yet determined. Twenty-five to thirty Negroes were arrested and brought before a vigilance committee. The Nashville *Union and American*, accounting for the increasing rumors of slave unrest, commented:

The recent Presidential canvass has had a deleterious effect on the slave population. The negroes manifested an unusual interest in the result, and attended the political meetings of the whites in large numbers. This is dangerous. The necessity for watchfulness is very great. The slaveholders must anxiously guard, both against the attacks of Northern fanatics, and the insidious wiles of enemies at home.²²

The Memphis *Visitor* editorialized in similar vein at the beginning of the panic:

The excitement in reference to the recent reports in regard to a probable servile insurrection is probably greater than is justified by the real state of the case. . . . We have heard [during the political campaign] speakers of both parties use language . . . calculated to inspire *the hope among dissatisfied slaves that with an effort on their own part, they would be free* in the event of the success of the most abused candidate; and *we have seen crowds of negroes at the out-skirts of political assemblages in this city, listening attentively to the efforts of restless demagogues to prove that the prospects were very fair for the election of Fremont.* Was it not supposed that the negroes would take these things home and talk over them with other slaves? . . . If this eternal agitation of the slavery question does not cease we may expect servile insurrections in dead earnest.²³

The panic spirit soon penetrated across the Kentucky border. A vigilance committee of Lafayette, Christian County, in that state addressed an appeal for military aid to the "Gentlemen of Hopkinsville." "From reliable information we expect an attack from the negroes of the Iron Works on our town tomorrow morning, perhaps tonight. Please come to our assistance."²⁴ The secretary of the committee appended this information:

The negroes of Eclipse, Clark, and Lagrange have united and are marching towards Dover and were within eight miles of that place when last heard from.

²² Quoted in Boston *Liberator*, December 12, 1856.

²³ *Ibid.* The editorial continued: "A lady a few days ago went into her kitchen and gave some directions to the negro cook, who replied with a sneer, 'When Fremont's elected, you'll have to sling them pots yourself.' Now, was not this negro led to believe that Fremont would be elected, by some alarmist on the stump?"

²⁴ Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, December 10, 1856.

Their intention is to relieve the negroes at Dover, then march to the Rolling Mill, then to the Bellwood Furnace, then through Lafayette on to Hopkinstown and the Ohio River.²⁵

At Hopkinstown the correspondent of the Louisville *Courier* heard one phrase on all lips, "The negroes are marching on us!" He noted that the telegraph poles were cut down and communication broken off. About one hundred and fifty armed men left for Lafayette under the command of Captain James Jackson and Sheriff Gowen.²⁶

During the first week of December rumors of slave plots spread into Henderson County on the Ohio River where it was believed that the holidays would unloose open revolt upon the whites.²⁷ Another Christmas plot was disclosed by a Negro boy in Campbellsville, Taylor County, where considerable dissatisfaction had existed among the slaves.²⁸ Four or five Negroes were arrested and a night patrol organized. At Cadiz, Trigg County, it was alleged that another center of a slave plot had been discovered. A free Negro preacher, Solomon Young, declared to be the "generalissimo" of the plotters and a notorious character, was hanged on December 19. The responsibility for the plot was attributed to "loco-foco" orators and newspapers. As excitement blazed, a vigilance committee began wholesale arrests of suspects and a special court session was set for Christmas day.²⁹ Similar excitement was experienced near Russellville, Logan County, where a Negro, employed in one of the iron works across the border in Tennessee, was whipped to death after remarking that he knew all about the plot but would not tell.³⁰ Even in

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.* A citizen at Pembroke, Christian County, wrote that Bob Murrell, a Negro at the central mill, had been whipped to death for his part in a plot. He added his forebodings: "I have no doubt but that [the plot] is a universal thing all over the Southern States and that every negro, fifteen years old, either knows of it or is into it; and that the most confidential house servants are the ones to be the most active in the destruction of their own families." Canton (Kentucky) *Dispatch*, December 13, 1856, quoted in Boston *Liberator*, January 16, 1857.

²⁷ Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, December 10, 1856.

²⁸ Louisville *Journal*, December 17, 1856, quoted in Baltimore *Sun*, December 19, 1856; Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, December 20, 1856.

²⁹ Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, December 27, 1856; Baltimore *Sun*, December 20, 1856.

³⁰ Russellville (Kentucky) *Herald*, December 20, 1856, quoted in Baltimore *Sun*, December 22, 1856; Boston *Liberator*, January 2, 1857.

Carter County, at the extreme northeastern part of Kentucky, alleged slave plotters were being discovered and subjected to severe whippings.⁸¹ At Carrollton, Carroll County, some fifty miles northeast of Louisville on the Ohio River, considerable furor was aroused over the alleged slave plots engineered by the Reverend William Anderson, a colored Methodist preacher, who was also accused of aiding fugitive slaves to escape to the North. After a reward of \$600 had been offered for his apprehension, he was captured with documents in his possession implicating "distinguished Northerners." His examination, however, proved disappointingly innocuous and he was discharged.⁸² Another exciting Christmas plot involving some two hundred Negroes was discovered in Wyoming, Bath County, in the extreme northeastern portion of Kentucky. Forty Negroes, fully armed, were arrested at a colored festival. Their plan was to assemble all the slaves at White Oak Creek and then to cut their way to Ohio.⁸³ It was estimated that at least ten or twelve alleged leaders of insurrections had been hanged in six counties of Kentucky and that many more awaiting trial might ultimately share their fate.⁸⁴ The *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, a Fillmore organ of the American party, noted closely the panic spirit in Kentucky and elsewhere:

From every quarter of the South we hear of insurrections and rumors of insurrections among the slaves. . . . During the Presidential contest the Democratic party was constantly crying out that Fremont would be elected, and the institution of slavery be overthrown, unless the American party of the South came to their rescue. In this city . . . negroes stood in swarms about the Court House Yard. They heard it proclaimed [by the Democrats] that the Know-Nothing party were aiding Fremont in voting for Fillmore, and that they were his secret friends.⁸⁵

From Tennessee and Kentucky the contagion of fear swept across the Mississippi River into Missouri and Arkansas. Insurrectionary move-

⁸¹ This refers to the plot involving the slaves of William McMinnis, a large planter of Carter County. *Boston Liberator*, January 23, 1857.

⁸² *Baltimore Sun*, December 17, 22, 1856.

⁸³ Mount Sterling (Kentucky) *Whig*, December 26, 1856, quoted in *Maysville Eagle*, December 27, 1856.

⁸⁴ *Maysville Eagle*, January 6, 1857. The Mayor of Louisville issued a proclamation that "all slaves will be imprisoned who are found from home after 8 o'clock at night during the holidays." *Baltimore Sun*, December 25, 1856.

⁸⁵ *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, December 20, 1856.

ments, originating in Obion County, Tennessee, and Fulton County, Kentucky, were traced to New Madrid and Scott counties in Missouri. Information was received that the slaves of the four counties were planning an uprising for Christmas day. A meeting of anxious citizens was held at New Madrid on December 15 to discuss the situation. After listening to evidence obtained from "the ringleaders and instigators" of the plot, the group appointed vigilance committees to carry out a series of resolutions: Negro meetings were banned and colored ministers forbidden to preach; slaves might not attend public meetings unless accompanied by a master or his agent; the system of "passes" for slaves was carefully circumscribed in application; and missionary efforts among them were to be discontinued.³⁶ The *Missouri Democrat* of December 4, commenting on the "numberless alarms respecting contemplated risings in the South," stated, "This is assuredly a most lamentable condition for the Slave States for nothing causes such terror upon the plantations as the bare suspicion of these insurrections."³⁷

In Arkansas the most specific reports of slave plots came from Union County on the Louisiana border and the eastern county of St. Francis. The conspiracy in Union County was declared to be led by an abolitionist, one Hancock, and several others who were organizing three hundred Negroes for an attack to be made on November 14 at the county seat, El Dorado. After a successful massacre and plunder of the town's inhabitants, the assailants expected to reach Kansas. Although Hancock was immediately captured he proved to be innocent, but admitted knowledge of the particulars of the plot. After his acquittal, he was seized by a mob, taken to the woods, and shot. Another alleged leader, a certain Martin, was declared guilty by the El Dorado court and hanged.³⁸ A similar panic shook adjacent Ashley County. In St. Francis County a slave revealed a plot set for Christmas day when a band would burn

³⁶ New Madrid (Missouri) *Times*, quoted in *Baltimore Sun*, November 25, 1856; *Boston Liberator*, December 12, 1856.

³⁷ Quoted in *Annual Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1857-1858* (New York, 1859), 78.

³⁸ *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, October 29, 1856; *Boston Liberator*, December 12, 1856.

Madison and other nearby towns. Three Negroes broke down under a whipping by the local vigilance committee to confess that they were involved.³⁹ Subsequently, a proposal was made before the Arkansas legislature that all free Negroes be removed from the state, but the measure was defeated.⁴⁰

The Hancock affair of Union County, Arkansas, was presumed to be directly related to plots in northern Louisiana. Amidst the growing panic in that section, planters investigated supposed plots among their slaves but were unable to discover any substance to these fears. In the delta region, however, serious plots were reported, particularly in the parishes of St. Martin, Assumption, and St. Mary. The town of St. Martinville, St. Martin Parish, "was thrown into great commotion" on November 18 by Negro confessions regarding an insurrection planned for Christmas day. The ringleaders, alleged to have been favorite family servants, were imprisoned.⁴¹ At Napoleonville, Assumption Parish, a Negro boy, John, belonging to the planter, F. Robichaux, was punished for his part in a proposed uprising by two months imprisonment, 350 lashes, and the requirement that he wear irons for the ensuing two years.⁴² Three white men were imprisoned in St. Mary Parish as ringleaders of a slave plot; Negroes, previously arrested on these charges, were released, with the exception of a free Negro.⁴³ More alarming news came from the Louisiana correspondent of the New York *Tribune* on December 31: "I have reliable information from New Orleans that within a few days there have been serious troubles among the slaves in Louisiana; and that as many as twenty negroes have been hung; but the newspapers carefully refrain from any mention of the facts." In several Louisiana parishes public meetings were held for the purpose of common consultation regarding precautionary measures. The sale of liquor to slaves was denounced as *prima facie* evidence of seditious in-

³⁹ Memphis *Appeal*, December 30, 1856, quoted in Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, January 7, 1857; Maysville *Eagle*, January 8, 1857.

⁴⁰ Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, January 14, 1857.

⁴¹ Baltimore *Sun*, December 4, 1856; Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, December 13, 1856; Maysville *Eagle*, December 2, 1856.

⁴² Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, January 7, 1857.

⁴³ Maysville *Eagle*, December 13, 1856.

tentions.⁴⁴ When the long-dreaded holidays passed without an outbreak the planters were visibly relieved. The New Orleans *Picayune* of January 2 remarked confidently:

The holidays have come and passed, and we hear no where of the disturbances among the negro population which, according to rumor, were threatened as likely to take place generally in the South about Christmas. . . . There was never any fear of a concerted attempt to rise, or a general insubordination, nor was full credit given to the details which the telegraph brought us from time to time of alleged attempts at insurrection in various places.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the editor pointed out that the recent presidential election had been so managed as to awaken hopes of emancipation among the slaves and to encourage the efforts of traveling abolitionists.

None of the Gulf states seemed to have escaped the common panic. In Jackson, Mississippi, the community was aroused on December 21 by confessions of a projected slave uprising and twenty-seven Negroes were jailed. The Mayor called upon all citizens to organize for defense.⁴⁶ Subsequent newspaper reports ridiculed the rumors of insurrection as "utterly without foundation."⁴⁷ Similar fears, probably unfounded, were experienced in Canton, Mississippi. Within Alabama plots were discovered in Sumter, Marion, and Perry counties; one hundred slaves in all were imprisoned and a white man also appeared to be involved.⁴⁸ A sensational report that "a bloody conspiracy is now ripening with a certain class of the population" and set for Christmas day came from Quincy, Gadsden County, Florida, on the southern border of Georgia. The editor of the Jacksonville *Floridian and Journal* suggested on December 6 that the citizens of the state organize an adequate slave patrol ready for any emergency.⁴⁹ In Georgia the Athens *Southern Watchman*

⁴⁴ Boston *Liberator*, December 12, 1856. A slave uprising was reported in New Iberia Parish, Louisiana, during August, 1856. Helen T. Catterall (ed.), *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*, 5 vols. (Washington, 1926-1937), III, 648.

⁴⁵ This item, with minor errors, was quoted in Boston *Liberator*, January 23, 1857.

⁴⁶ Baltimore *Sun*, December 29, 1856. A Northern visitor to the Vicksburg area in Mississippi on Christmas day, 1857, experienced the tense excitement of a rumored slave outbreak. A. De Puy Van Buren, *Jottings of a Year's Sojourn in the South* (Battle Creek, Mich., 1859), 121-22.

⁴⁷ Maysville *Eagle*, January 8, 1857.

⁴⁸ Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, January 7, 1857.

⁴⁹ Quoted in New York *Tribune*, December 20, 1856.

of January 1, 1857, noted that "our citizens have generally recovered from the 'fright' into which some of them were thrown by the report that an attempt at insurrection was to be made by the negroes throughout the South during the Christmas holidays." The editor demanded that the legislature of Georgia "abate this nuisance" of free Negroes whose residence, he declared, "was incompatible with the public safety."⁵⁰

Maryland shared the nightmare of revolt with her sister states. During the middle of December slave confessions were elicited regarding a Christmas plot in certain parts of Prince George County. To meet this threat public meetings were held for defense measures.⁵¹ About the same time excitement broke out in Charles County after the arrest of two Negroes alleged to have planned insurrection. Two white men, suspected as promoters of the plot, fled from the state before they were apprehended.⁵² Elsewhere in Maryland there were reports of the formation of new slave patrols and renewed vigilance exercised over the movements of the colored population.⁵³ The Baltimore *American* remarked: "The recent frequency of rumors in regard to slave insurrections has not failed to attract attention. . . . Their coincidence . . . with the late election-agitation is not without matter for grave consideration. . . . The happenings of several of these alarms at widely different points within a short interval is ominous."⁵⁴

With the extension of the panic to Virginia, the insurrection wave completed a full cycle within the Southern states. A plot was discovered at Williamsburg during the early part of December which had originated among a group of discontented slaves. The usual arrests followed and the community once more settled down. A similar story came from Montgomery County.⁵⁵ In New Kent County a slave named Beverly,

⁵⁰ Ulrich B. Phillips (ed.), *Plantation and Frontier*, in John R. Commons et al. (eds.), *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, I, II (Cleveland, 1910), II, 116.

⁵¹ Baltimore *Sun*, December 27, 1856.

⁵² New York *Herald*, December 6, 1856. Charles County, Maryland, had already experienced the panic of insurrection plots in 1845. Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1889), 96.

⁵³ Baltimore *Sun*, December 13, 1856.

⁵⁴ Quoted in Lexington *Observer and Reporter*, December 17, 1856.

⁵⁵ Baltimore *Sun*, December 13, 1856.

belonging to Sarah Crump, was declared guilty of inciting an insurrection and condemned to be hanged.⁵⁶ In Millwood, Clark County, confessions established a plot of free Negroes and slaves which involved Harper's Ferry—an interesting forerunner of John Brown's historic deed. These Negroes told the court that "they had heard white men and negroes talking [that] if Fremont was elected they would be free, and as they knew he was not, they were prepared to fight for it."⁵⁷ The citizens of Alexandria and other parts of Fairfax County seemed to have had an exceptionally severe fright over alleged slave plots. Students of the theological seminary formed a special patrol. The Mayor of Alexandria forbade all Negro meetings and strengthened the pass system. State forces sent by Governor Henry Wise arrested forty Negroes at a festival which subsequently proved to be an innocent affair.⁵⁸ The Governor received numerous reports of insurrections contemplated for Christmas day and sent arms upon request to the counties of Fauquier, King and Queen, Culpeper, Rappahannock, and the towns of Lynchburg, Petersburg, and Gordonsville.⁵⁹ During the Christmas holidays when many waited for the lightning to strike, citizens of Louisa, Spotsylvania, and Orange counties met to organize a committee to whip and drive off all gypsies, peddlers, sellers of spirits to slaves, and all suspicious itinerants in that section of the country.⁶⁰ The *Richmond Examiner* of January 23 published a widely-quoted editorial demanding that the free Negroes of the South be either exiled or enslaved on the ground that they were a constant danger in organizing insurrections and setting a bad example of freedom before dissatisfied slaves.⁶¹ The *Richmond Enquirer*, commenting on the symmetry of the Southern slave plots, made this warning statement: "These are not the wild and visionary projects with which negroes may be disposed to amuse themselves in the most

⁵⁶ *Fredericksburg (Virginia) News*, January 15, 1857. This newspaper showed extreme reticence in reporting the panic, confining major items to half-inch notices.

⁵⁷ *Baltimore Sun*, December 27, 1856.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1856; *Virginia Traveller*, December 15, 1856, quoted in *Boston Liberator*, December 19, 1856.

⁵⁹ H. W. Flournoy (ed.), *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 1836-1869* (Richmond, 1893), XI, 50.

⁶⁰ *Fredericksburg News*, January 26, 1857.

⁶¹ Quoted in *Boston Liberator*, February 27, 1857.

quiet communities but the maturely prepared, and, in some instances, the partially executed plans of a deliberate and widespread purpose of revolt."⁶²

At the North many of the abolitionists chose this opportunity to renew their attacks on the slaveholders. The New York *Herald*, professing sorrow over the insurrection panic, complained, "It is painful to see the apparent gusto with which our nigger-worshipping contemporary of the *Tribune* gloats over the news of projected Southern servile insurrections."⁶³ The editor also expressed his disdain for Thurlow Weed of the Albany (New York) *Journal* who, he said, "rubs his hands together with something of a chuckle of satisfaction." The *Herald* attributed the plots to the universal notion, propagated by agitators, that Frémont's election would mean the emancipation of the slaves who would then be turned loose on the South to provoke civil war. The New York *Tribune* thundered, "Let the South with her growing insurrections look to it. . . . These last suppressed insurrections grew out of the discussions on Kansas. . . . The manacles of the slave must be stricken off."⁶⁴ Extremists like A. J. Grover of Illinois proposed that the Garrison group aid all efforts at insurrection on the ground that "revolution is the only hope of the slave; consequently the quicker it comes, the better."⁶⁵ A resolution attributed to Frederick Douglass, the famous ex-slave, then editor of a Frémont paper, read, "Resolved, that while we deeply oppose the necessity of shedding human blood . . . we should rejoice in a successful slave insurrection which would teach slaveholders the wrong and danger involved in the act of slaveholding."⁶⁶ Abroad, the Manchester *Guardian* commented on the plight of the South:

We venture to assert that in consequence [of the slavery agitation] more slaves

⁶² Quoted in *Annual Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1857-1858*, p. 77; Caleb P. Patterson, *The Negro in Tennessee*, University of Texas Bulletin No. 225 (Austin, 1922), 49. In York District, South Carolina, powder and muskets were found in the possession of the slaves. The community was reported to be arming. *Maysville Eagle*, January 6, 1857.

⁶³ New York *Herald*, December 11, 1856.

⁶⁴ New York *Tribune*, December 13, 1856.

⁶⁵ A. J. Grover to William L. Garrison, February 24, 1857, in Boston *Liberator*, March 13, 1857.

⁶⁶ *Maysville Eagle*, November 1, 1856.

have been induced to escape from their masters, more desperate resolutions have been put into their heads, and more general insecurity entailed upon that species of property within the past year than during any five years preceding. . . .⁶⁷

Any evaluation of the sensational events of 1856 must observe certain fundamental cautions. Slave confessions made under duress can scarcely meet the test of complete trustworthiness. Although the thesis of an all-embracing slave plot in the South shows remarkable cohesion on the whole as far as geographic and chronological circumstances are concerned, much can be explained away by a counter-thesis of a panic contagion originating in the unusual political setting of the year. It seems probable, however, that a large number of actual slave plots did exist in 1856. The situation in Kentucky and Tennessee particularly seemed to involve authenticated stories of proposed insurrections. It is also apparent from the news items and editorials of the contemporary press that the year 1856 was exceptional for the large crop of individual slave crimes reported, especially those directed against the life of the master. This fact would suggest a fair amount of reality behind the accounts of slave discontent and plotting. The deep-seated feeling of insecurity characterizing the slaveholder's society evoked such mob reactions as those noted in the accounts of insurrections, imaginary and otherwise, upon any suspicion of Negro insubordination. The South, attributing the slave plots to the inspiration of Northern abolitionists, found an additional reason for the desirability of secession; while the abolitionist element of the North, crediting in full the reports of slave outbreaks, was more convinced than ever that the institution of slavery represented a moral leprosy.

⁶⁷ New York *Herald*, January 10, 1857.

Notes and Documents

SLATER FUND BEGINNINGS: LETTERS FROM GENERAL AGENT ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD TO RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Edited by CURTIS W. GARRISON

"Mr. Hayes, I am not accustomed, although a preacher—to speak of my faith & religious convictions—this, once: I believe with all my soul that God's hand is on me for these poor people. It is to me a sacred work. It is the prayer of my days & nights—that I may be faithful. It is now getting late & my light is not good & I must stop."

The above passage from a letter written by Dr. Atticus G. Haygood, January 12, 1887, can serve as a text to his eight years of work as General Agent for the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund in carrying education to the Negroes of the South. When the Trustees found him in October, 1882, he was president of Emory College, a Methodist institution at Oxford, Georgia. On assuming full-time duties for the Trustees in January, 1885, he was made "Professor Emeritus of Evidences of Christianity" in this college in order to retain his connection with the Methodist Conference. He resigned the Slater Fund work in April of 1891 to accept the appointment of bishop in his church.¹

President Hayes was first drawn into the work upon election as a Trustee of the Peabody Education Fund, October 4, 1877. This was in honor of his Southern policy,² but Hayes had also advocated Federal aid to education in the South in his inaugural address. It was reiterated in

¹ See article on Haygood by E. H. Johnson, in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1937), VIII, 452-53. This article merely mentions the Slater Fund work, however.

² *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, 1874-1881* (Boston, 1881), II, 138-39.

his annual messages of 1877, 1878, and especially in that of 1880. On his invitation the Peabody Trustees met at the White House for their 1880 annual meeting. On February 19, the second day, a report was presented at the Riggs House meeting by a special committee, of which Alexander Hugh Holmes Stuart of Virginia was chairman, entitled "Education for the Colored Population of the United States." A memorial was then sent to Congress advocating specific Federal aid.³ Hayes was an admirer of Stuart because of his Whiggish antecedents.⁴ Several of his friends were Peabody Trustees, including Secretary of State William M. Evarts and Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite. J. L. M. Curry, the General Agent, was an old classmate in the Harvard Law School. On October 6 of the year Hayes left the White House, the Chief Justice, vacationing at Norwich, Connecticut, the home of John F. Slater, sent the former President a letter introducing Rev. Leonard W. Bacon, "who wishes to consult you with reference to a subject nearly allied to that of the Peabody Trust."⁵ The upshot of this and succeeding conferences was the organization of the "John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen." The founder's letter to the Trustees is dated March 4, 1882; the incorporation charter was approved April 28, and the first Trustees meeting occurred May 18 of the same year.⁶

Haygood's appointment as General Agent can not be pinned definitely to any person, but evidences⁷ in the Hayes Papers from which the following letters are selected would indicate that Bacon, pastor of the church which Slater attended, had proposed him both to President Hayes and Slater. In the President's library is a copy of Haygood's book, *Our*

³ *Ibid.*, 256, 265-99.

⁴ Charles R. Williams (ed.), *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, 5 vols. (Columbus, 1922-1926), III, 501, 513. Also, a marginal note by Hayes on a letter from Alexander H. H. Stuart, December 20, 1877, R. B. Hayes Papers (The Hayes Memorial, Fremont, Ohio).

⁵ R. B. Hayes Papers.

⁶ The documents referred to were printed in a separate pamphlet, *Organization of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund* (Baltimore, 1882); and also in the *Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund, for the Education of Freedmen*, 1883 (Baltimore, 1883). On organization, see L. W. Bacon Letters, R. B. Hayes Papers.

⁷ Bacon to Hayes, December 26, 1881; and March 27, May 5, September 8, 17, 29, 1881, R. B. Hayes Papers.

Brother in Black (New York and Cincinnati, 1881), presented to him by Bacon. Hayes often quoted the title admiringly in his letters. This pioneer expression of a soul unbigoted and unafraid, who knew the Negro and knew the South, would naturally give him commanding prominence with Northern philanthropists.

Atticus G. Haygood was a good choice. The task was mightier than these men dreamed, and any scientific centimeter measure at the outset would soon have proclaimed failure. He carried Slater's faith into the field, and his whirlwind methods sowed the seed. His controversies with President Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins, secretary, and Morris K. Jesup, treasurer, are most enlightening, showing his methods and his problems. Hayes gave constant encouragement, but at the same time respected the academic statesmanship and practical educational ideas of Gilman, especially his interest in manual training. Haygood's weakness was in diffusing the appropriations, so that dribblets were lost on poor institutions. The *Proceedings* of the Trustees indicate their awareness of this, and resolutions to make a general study of the whole problem, and of concentrating on several good schools were passed, without measurably affecting the situation. These adjustments had to wait until Dr. Curry succeeded Haygood in 1891, and managed both the Peabody and Slater funds together.

The story of this work has yet to be evaluated. The Peabody work was better grounded by Dr. Barnas Sears, no doubt, and produced an effect ten times its financial value on the public school system of the South. The Slater funds were distributed to twenty-five or thirty-five schools and colleges, especially those emphasizing manual and industrial training. These drops must have permeated below the strata and the missionary work of Haygood must have been a forerunner to later foundation work. The agrarian and Populist revolts and the disfranchisement of the blacks in the 1890's robbed the Slater Fund of its fundamental tenet, "Universal Suffrage, Universal Education." That generation's naïve faith in education steadily declined. The practical and intellectual betterment of a few Negroes out of the great mass of increasing population

with increasing illiteracy, was all that remained. This challenge and the answers came with a later era.

Emory College,
Oxford, Georgia,
Dec. 6, 1882

My dear Mr. Hayes:

I inclose my first report.⁸ It was not sent Dec. 1 because I was from home attending the North Georgia Conference of which I am a member.

I can tell you good news. The Southern Methodist Church last May, at the General Conference passed a resolution looking to the establishment of a high-grade school for colored people.⁹ That was a great joy to me for I have been battling hard for it and, at first, almost alone.

The Board of Trustees was appointed in due time & the school directed to be located in Augusta, Ga. They were looking about for a suitable man for President. Whereupon Dr. Morgan Callaway (see above)¹⁰ my right-hand man steps forward & proposes to take this negro college in hand, and give his life to it. He could have staid here all his life—being one of the most loved & popular Georgians. But this new work he enters from a profound consideration of duty. It has made simply a tremendous impression upon our people. Dr. Callaway is of a long line of aristocratic slave-owners—is a native of Georgia—was a brave officer in the War & a gallant fighter. He has the *absolute* confidence of our people. Our conference responded with enthusiasm & unanimously pledged cooperation. This is the *first* case of the kind; it will not be the last. It marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of our Southern Methodism & of our section.

I think that you, as President of the Slater Board, will not censure me when I say that I have used part of the last month in helping Dr. Callaway get his plans perfected. There are nearly one *million* in our church. Dr. C. will challenge their respect. It is going to be more pleasant for Northern people teaching in the South.

Very truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

⁸ This was a short, general statement of two months' observations, and not printed by the Trustees.

⁹ Payne Institute, Augusta, Georgia.

¹⁰ The parenthetical "see above" refers to the letterhead of Emory College where Dr. Callaway is listed as vice-president.

Emory College,
Oxford, Georgia,
Sept. 19, 1883

Dear Mr. Hayes:-

Pardon *this* paper—It is far in the night and I have used up everything in my home office. I should have had my report "in type" in the hands of members of the Board three days ago. My excuse is—I have had the biggest sort of a fight on hand since my return. My Monteagle & Chautauqua speeches¹¹ raised a tempest. I replied by publishing 40,000 copies—I have said nothing else—wanted them to know that I meant what I said. I have worked from 10 to 15 hours in the twenty-four—directing wrappers & sending off. About 20,000 are distributed now & the rest in process. The trouble was: the papers denounced without publishing and the people got mad about what I did not say. Some of them about what I did say. The results are going to be glorious. More real thought has been bestowed, in these regions, upon the negro and his education & his whole case—in the last month than in the last ten years. I have not heard of *one* Southern paper that has not taken some hand in it. I have applications daily—yesterday for about 2500, a leading N. C. paper sending for 2,000 to send out to subscribers.

Don't let the Board scold me for my delay. The report will be along next week. It is the first time in my life I have not been ready. With best wishes & compliments to Mrs. H. & your family.

I am very truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Oxford, Georgia,
Jan'y 14, 1884

My dear Mr. Hayes:

I inclose a letter and ask your advice—that advice I trust. I will promptly give Mr. [Morris K.] Jesup a list of the institutions & send him their reports, etc. The especial points are in the inclosed letter between places marked X - X. How far should I go into *details* of "reasons" with Mr. J.? What supervisory relation has Mr. J. or the Finance Committee to appropriations I make—in so far as the appropriation not contingent made by the Board? As to the \$20,000 contingent—that I understand.

I am neither suspicious nor jealous of authority but Mr. J.'s mental processes I have observed to be peculiar. How far it will be useful for me to undertake to

¹¹ Dr. Haygood spoke at Monteagle, Tennessee, August 2, on "The Education of the Negro," and at Chautauqua, New York, August 17 and 20, on "A Southern Man's Report on the Negro" and "If Universal Suffrage, Then Universal Education." These are printed in his book, *Pleas for Progress* (Nashville, 1889).

put Mr. Jesup in possession of every "reason" influencing my mind as to appropriations—places—amounts—objects, etc. etc. I am in doubt. My decisions grew out of a full year's observation—inspection, travel & correspondence—conference, etc. etc. It is not clear to me that I can cause Mr. J. to understand the *grounds* of decisions, etc. You will confer a very great favor by giving me your views as to the proper thing for me to do. Also—as to what relation of supervision this Finance Committee has to my appropriations, etc.

I was taken sick in Texas & my trip there was broken into—but good was done. For the first time since May 1854 I was flattened out in bed. The doctors said "must" & "must not" to me—Said I was threatened with "compound pneumonia, pleurisy, bronchitis, etc." But I was up after a week and at work & am nearly what I was.

I am satisfied that the work committed to me is in good care. I am not hurrying to get rid of the \$20,000. appropriated in Oct. By patient adherence to the plans of the Board I find that all the best schools are coming to see the value of Industrial Training. I am to visit New Orleans in about two weeks to meet the Board of Trustees of the Louisiana State College for colored people. A Southern man—Vanderbilt alumnus was made President last fall & I think it might be well to put money there—if I find upon investigation that they will do right. Other things being equal, I think the State institutions should at least have as much consideration as those supported by societies. It goes far to build up a sentiment among our people that will be strong enough someday to support these schools without aid.

Y'rs very truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Emory College,
Oxford, Georgia,
Dec. 6, 1884

My dear Sir:

Yesterday I mailed to you a copy of the Atlanta Constitution, containing proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Emory College, Nov. 26, in Atlanta, at the session of the North Georgia Conference.

In your letter of Oct. 22 you say: "The Agent of the Peabody Fund is paid \$5,000 salary and \$1,000. expenses as I now recollect. We are ready to contract with you on the same, or a similar basis."¹²

For simplicity's sake in keeping the accounts and to avoid occasions of difference of opinion with the Treasurer as to what *are* expenses I very much desire

¹² Dr. Haygood arranged to devote all of his time after January 1, 1885. See *Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1885* (Baltimore, 1885).

that you instruct him to pay me \$500 per month for salary & expenses—without expense items. This will be the same to the Board and it simplifies matters. Out of this \$500 I pay all postage, stationery & travelling expense items. The Reports issued by the Board I understand to be the Board's affair, the printed reports I make to the Board is my affair.

The \$1000. will hardly cover expenses. I shall be from home most of the time & I pay my hotel bills. I shall not sponge upon people. And I will have to employ a clerk to look after mail, etc. when I am away.

As to my connections here they are of a sort that help my Slater work, they cannot hinder it.

I am elected President of the Board of Trustees of the College—the position held by our late Senior Bishop for twenty years. The Board meets once a year here.

I will be put down in the list of the Faculty as "Professor Emeritus of Evidences of Christianity"—This is purely honorary—just as I am a member of several Historical & other Societies that I never attend. I have no claim on the college & the college has no claim on me—except my friendship & advice & such a help as kind feeling & a little personal influence may bring. I shall deliver occasional lectures on Biblical topics—just as I will do in schools I may visit as Slater Agent. This "Professor Emeritus" position enables me to solve the problem of which I spoke to you—to retain my membership in the Conference and so to keep in line with my church. I found the Bishop much interested in my Slater work & quite willing to appoint me "Professor Emeritus." The discipline of the Church does not allow appointment to the Slater Agency—such a thing not being contemplated by the law makers. But it is understood all around that the Slater Agency is my business.

My successor here is thoroughly fitted for his place. He is an old classmate & will push the college on the lines of progress that I have started.

Now I begin what, if it please God, may take the rest of my active life.

Very truly yours,

ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes, Fremont, Ohio

Oxford, Georgia,

March 30, 1885

Dear Sir:

Your telegram rec'd. I sent my question that I might make my plan of visitations & know how to answer many invitations. I do not care about a meeting if I can go on with my work. At present I can appropriate nothing—Everything waits the "investigation" so much talked of in January.¹³ I want to know before

¹³ A committee headed by Daniel C. Gilman was chosen at the January 17, 1885, meeting of the Trustees to investigate the educational needs of the Negro, the various

the vacation season what I can use for the school year 1885-86. The people I deal with will need to know so that they may make their arrangements before they begin again in October.

The report I sent you—prepared for the contemplated meeting last week shows what I think on the general subject of suspending appropriations till more investigations are had. The subject of schooling the negro is one of the least mysterious of Christian duties. Almost daily I have appeals for aid to worthy schools. Every dollar available above running expenses & the \$10,000 guarantee fund¹⁴ should be used. I could place \$100,000 next year wisely if I had it.

I met Mr. Jesup in Atlanta last week & visited three schools for the colored people. He was amazed & pleased & knows the subject as he knows it. You will understand this sentence. He was exceedingly amiable and good.

The speech I made at Holly Springs¹⁵ will appear this week in N. Y. Christian Ad[vocate] & in Southern papers also. A great many in pamphlet are to be furnished me for gratuitous distribution in the South. The errors in my Report are provided for in errata.

Y'rs very truly & Respectfully,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Oxford, Georgia,

May 4, 1885

My dear Mr. Hayes:

I enclose a letter received Friday last on my return from a visitation in Alabama. I have spent most of the day in answering it—as in courtesy bound. I send it to you that you may understand things. Last February I had a letter from a Johns Hopkins student desiring a sort of appointment from me to *investigate*

agencies at work, and plans to make the fund useful "by its indirect application" as well as its direct application. This statement no doubt had reference to influence on official and public interests in which the Peabody Fund was so successful. The Trustees were to meet again in Atlanta in March, but this was later deemed inadvisable. Instead there was a called meeting in New York in May to which were invited J. L. M. Curry, general agent for the Peabody Fund, and G. J. Orr, superintendent of schools in Georgia. Haygood's report on "The Case of the Negro as to Education in the Southern States," which was to contribute to the Atlanta meeting, was published by him privately; and, the annual meetings being changed to May, there was no general report in 1885. One for 1885-1886 was printed in the *Proceedings* of the following year.

¹⁴ Ten thousand dollars was set aside each year by the Trustees against the impairment of principal. About \$40,000 a year was appropriated for the General Agent's allocations.

¹⁵ At the dedication of the "Elizabeth L. Rust Industrial Home," Holly Springs, Mississippi, March 10, 1885. Printed in Haygood, *Pleas for Progress*.

the subject of Negro Education—doubtless it was suggested to him—for Dr. G[ilman] suggested to me that he had a young man apt in such matters.¹⁶

Now I protest I am moderately patient—but *you* will let me write my mind to *you*. This will, I think, suggest to you to so manage some very excellent people that it may not be necessary to free my mind to them.

1. The undertones of the January meeting were to me utterly unsatisfactory. There seemed to be a notion that the chief end of the Slater Board was to *study* the Negro Question. The Secretary said somewhat about the Royal Commission of Inquiry into all sorts of matters in East India—I know the book. Also the Commission appointed to inquire into Sociology in the West Indies, etc. etc. Books minute & interminable as the Ku Klux books.—Such inquiries are for theorists—scientists—amateurs. But they are as remote from the business of the Slater Board and the thought of the dead Prince who gave the money as building the Bartholdi Monument in New York harbor.

It is preposterous. The work of educating the Negro has been going on for over twenty years by experts. Nothing now being done in the line of good works in the world is better understood & for us to go into prolonged & minute investigations will certainly issue in some disagreeable results. 1. We will be laughed at by people who know about this business. 2. We will be censured for wasting time and money. 3. We will lose the sympathy of the great Societies with whom we must cooperate, if we are to do anything.

I have cut loose from everything but this & what I want is—all the money the Board can use & full opportunity in the field. I claim this—every school I have touched is larger and better than it was—in every one industrial training is begun & thousands of dollars have been raised by others by the stimulus of what we have done. Other schools need and deserve help—but I have been muzzled as to promising anything since January because———You know the case as well as I.

If this sort of thing keeps on the Board will break me down & disappoint the spirit of the old man who sleeps in Norwich.

I write to *you* all I think—I have learned to trust you perfectly. I write to nobody else this way. I send a sermon I preached to “my boys”—while yet I was with them. Some “rainy day” you may find time to glance over it.

I am arranging to be in New York 3rd week in May!

Y’rs most truly—

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes, Fremont, Ohio

¹⁶ This letter would indicate that Gilman was the originator of the statement referred to in n. 13. References to “the dead Prince” below are to Slater’s death, May, 1884.

Oxford, Georgia,
June 12, 1885

My dear Mr. Hayes:

I send you two papers today—very different. The Charleston paper is the leading democratic paper of Charleston—the N. O. Ad[vocate] our Church organ in New Orleans. Since our meeting in New York, I have sent out drafts for the 4th Quarter for 1884-85. I have spoken at Commencements—to immense crowds in Atlanta, Memphis & Tougaloo, Mississippi. More Southern white people attended than ever before. The Methodist clergy of Memphis were out in force & the lady teachers of the two most fashionable young lady schools in the city. I had, by his request, an hour's interview with Colonel [John M.] Keating, editor of the Memphis Appeal—leading paper there. He told me, in parting, to use his paper as I had need. Just before our N. Y. meeting I made a tour in Alabama. I spoke at Marion to the School there—Many leading white people attended—the local editor taking me to the school in a carriage. The pastor of our church called to express regret that he could not attend. The leading Professors of the Baptist University there called on me & I was urged to deliver an address in the Court-house to all classes on the subject of Negro Education. Ten days after leaving there the principal of our School wrote me that more Marion people had called to see the school etc. than in all the years he had been there.

You will understand why I mention these things. In addition to my agency work proper, I am seeking to create and foster sentiment in favor of the work of teaching these poor people among Southern white people. I do not believe that I can do anything so important for the Southern negro as this.

I had not opportunity in New York to set forth the absolute necessity of our present plan of diffusion, as against the notion of concentrating on three or four big work-shops, fitted up with machinery—not to be used by many, after leaving such places.¹⁷ There are many objections & insuperable ones obvious to all who really understand the matter. It would arrest whatever sentiment the Slater work is helping—except in the three or four localities that receive money. It would pervert Mr. Slater's gift—his chief idea, as I know, from two long talks with him, was to help to prepare young men & women to teach. We are therefore to help as many as we can provided we help enough to do real good where we help. Tool-craft is most important & our present plan fosters tool-craft—but we dare not, in fidelity to Mr. Slater, so stress this or to overlook and put away what he chiefly cared for.

From what I heard & saw at our meeting I became satisfied that the Slater Board would not adopt the plan proposed by the Treasurer & advocated by the Principals of two schools—obviously to get large money. Such I understand to be your judgment. But if I am mistaken—if it should become the policy of the

¹⁷ Appropriations were going to about twenty-nine institutions ranging in amount from \$500 to \$2,000.

Board to put all this Slater force into three or four schools for teaching trades—I would like to know in time to know how to adjust my own plans. From many things I have said you understand that an unspeakably broader kind of work is in my mind—was in it when in response to your letter last October I agreed to do what you said—make this my “life work.” It is unthinkable that I make the superintending of three or four machine shops my life work—It would destroy the conception with which I cut loose from all else—I have had the tender of the Presidency of two universities within the last three months and my church has work of several sorts that I can get—but *above all things* I prefer what I understood in October I was to do.

I am full of hope & joy—in the full assurance that the cause of Negro education is taking fast hold of the minds & consciences of opinion-makers in the South & I am ready to labor to the end to push this moral reform—for it is a moral reform to come to think right on such a question.

Y’rs truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Oxford, Georgia,

Oct. 12, 1885

Dear Mr. Hayes:

The drafts have been sent out for the 1st $\frac{1}{3}$ of the appropriation for school year 1885-86. I trust the Finance Committee can allow the other \$5000. by Jan. 1. It will be sorely needed. From that I wish to make an appropriation to the woman’s work at Holly Springs, Miss. The outlook for the coming year is good. The schools will be full. The negro fathers are beginning to try to do more themselves. There are signs of a helping spirit among Southern white people that are *buds* of promise. There are many signs of changing sentiment. Two weeks ago I made an address on Temperance in Macon, Georgia where the Bourbon sentiment has been supreme & where for nearly a year the leading daily bombarded me and the cause I plead. It was stated that I had the largest audience ever assembled in the city on such an occasion. Certainly I had a singular introduction. The largest planter perhaps in Southwest Ga.—Col. [Arthur T.?] Fort, presided. He has a small army of negroes in his employment [*sic*]. He said: “I have great pleasure in introducing a man whose wise opinions on grave public questions we have been compelled to accept.” The paper had a full report & kind. I am invited to speak on Negro Education in Marion, Ala. right in the edge of the Black Belt, as it is called to white people by white people. Tomorrow I am to speak at the cornerstone laying of an endorsed Academy for white children in an old time Georgia town. And all over the South I have a dozen calls where I can accept one. I write these things to *you* because they indicate chang-

ing sentiment about the *cause* I represent. Paine Institute is going to succeed. A Missouri member of the Methodist Church South offers \$25,000. for endowment when the Church furnishes suitable buildings. The Conferences are taking up the proposition & the money is almost certain. This is a "big thing." When my church builds Paine Institute a new chapter is written.

Some fruit appears in our special work.¹⁸ Miss Jones of Ann Arbor, Michigan has completed her course & under high endorsement is ready to begin. I have arranged for her to begin in Atlanta under the wise direction of Miss Packard, Principal of Sherman Institute. The African Methodists have a good school at Salisbury, N. C. Last week, through my agency, a rarely competent colored woman taught in our school in Marion, Ala. entered upon the duty of conducting the Sewing Department in the Salisbury school. I know the woman & have seen her work & at her work. She understands cutting, fitting & all that business: We must look to making them self-supporting in the long run—It may be *very* long, but, sometime, it must be. Apt ones & gifted ones I look out for & place as openings make possible.

I inclose a letter which explains itself. Remember me to Mrs. Hayes whom I hope to meet in Philadelphia.¹⁹

Y'rs truly & respectfully,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes, Fremont, Ohio

[Very few letters are found for 1886, and none of great importance.]

Holly Springs, Miss.,

Jan. 12, 1887

My dear Mr. Hayes:

Last May the Board passed a resolution requesting me to investigate & note the condition & needs of the colored people outside the larger cities etc. etc. to report in writing to the Trustees.

This resolution I have had in view. But my obligations have a broader range than was first suggested to me & a report to be useful must have fuller data & better classification than can be now commanded. Outside the general educational work I am making a specialty of these lines: 1. The colored people & property. 2. Their home life, as marriage & legitimate births may indicate it. I think I will be able by the next meeting to present reports on these lines that will be instructive and useful. Besides personal observation—extended and mi-

¹⁸ Refers to student aid, for which \$450 was spent in 1885-1886.

¹⁹ At the annual meeting of the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at which Haygood made a speech, October 23, 1885. Printed in Haygood, *Pleas for Progress*.

nute, I am securing the cooperation of many observers whose views & conclusions will be valuable.

Since the opening of the school year I have been visiting our schools & others—endeavoring in every way possible to me to aid & encourage them. Also, to elicit interest & induce cooperation on the part of Southern white people.

Of the general work I am glad to say & with perfect confidence:

1. With scarcely an exception the Fall openings were most encouraging—nearly all the schools showing increased attendance.
2. The Industrial picture, more & more commands confidence. Those that have it not, want it; those that have it, give it a fairer opportunity. The *uniform* testimony is—it is not only good in itself, but it aids other educational processes.
3. The education of the colored people receives more favorable notice from the Southern press than at any time heretofore.
4. Southern people are *beginning* to aid—in money more than service, but some also in service. Some Southern people of good character & family are teaching in city & state schools. An Emory graduate—a Savannah man of good family, has just taken a place in the Faculty of Paine Institute. The Evangelist Sam. Small, now of the North G[eorgi]a Conf[erence] is its agent. Its former agent, Mr. Dunlap, has been appointed by the Southern Meth[odist] Church to do evangelistic work among colored people in Georgia. The Southern churches are beginning to move. Some work is being done—more is projected.
5. The colored people are themselves doing more for the Education of their children than at any past time.

I write from Holly Springs, being in the midst of a protracted tour through our Southwestern work. I spent yesterday in Little Rock, Arkansas, where the Freedmen's Aid Society has a well-started school. The President thinks he can raise money there from the white people to build a shop—say \$300 or \$400. I have promised tools & a teacher. Our Le Moyne work in Memphis is doing nobly—they are in their \$1,000 building for industrial work, built by Memphis money. Tomorrow morning I address the students of the State Normal school, located here; tomorrow afternoon I formally open a men's industrial department in Rush University—Freedmen's Aid Society. Say to Mrs. Hayes that the Girls' Industrial Home in the University, sustained by her Society, is well reported of—indeed, it is doing admirably.

The Appeal—I sent you a slip from Memphis, says I spent *most* of my time. I spend all—I have no other business. What time I am at home it is desk & office work—all I can stand. More & more I know that I must "work while it is day" to me. I see clearly that I must spread information & seek to develop right thinking among white people in the South. And all the time I am sending out pamphlets & documents & using the press, wherever there is a chance. If I

speak or preach on other occasions than those directly in my agency, I never forget the poor negro. If I say nothing directly there is something I hope will stimulate right views & right doing. If I gain influence I use it for him.

Pardon the weakness—sometimes I am discouraged. (You are the only one to whom I have ever said this—not to my wife.) The main part of my work cannot be reported on or of. I cannot make others see it—I would not care for myself—but I fear they may be discouraged. It is a work that cannot show its results in figures. It seems so slow—but there is no other way. This work must take *root* in the South—and in Southern white consciences—else some day it will die.

Mr. Hayes, I am not accustomed, although a preacher—to speak of my faith & religious convictions—this, once: I believe with all my soul that God's hand is on me for these poor people. It is to me a sacred work. It is the prayer of my days & nights—that I may be faithful. It is now getting late & my light is not good & I must stop.

I preached for the colored people here tonight & had a good meeting. I spoke in Little Rock yesterday—to the Le Moyne School in Memphis on Monday—preached twice in Memphis on Sunday. I do not feel tired—and I am in perfect health.

God bless you & Mrs. Hayes & all yours.

Y'rs. truly ever,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Oxford, Ga.,

Feb. 3, 1887

My dear Mr. Hayes:

I am just home & find 179 letters to be cared for. Yours is a benediction. I sent a letter to each Trustee & now I find Dr. Gilman has started round the one I wrote him. I did not think it needful to tell him I had written to each. I have this morning explained to him. As to "quarterly reports" I wrote at the end of the 1st school quarter—there was no school report for the vacation. I employed myself as I have always done—using every opportunity to forward the negroes' cause—by speech—travel—correspondence—fact-gathering—circulation of literature, etc.

I earnestly wish to do what I suppose the Board wants. Between us, part of it don't know what it wants. A good many resolutions have been passed—not all in harmony with themselves. And I do the best I can.

One thing I have never done in any work for church or school—General Conference or College Board—kept minute memoranda to show just where I was & what I did day by day. I may say without boasting, hitherto I have had charac-

ter for working—I have had more advice about over-working than anything else. I can't undertake to make reports that are extracts from diaries. My dear friend, I can't work that way. It would freeze up my soul. I believe the best ten days work I ever did for the negro was while on a fishing excursion in 1883. Then & there I made my Monteagle & chautauqua speeches, intending, if I could, to *force* the Southern press to discuss the subject. And I succeeded. But what Trustee will understand me when I report "10 days in the woods." I am too busy now to hope for such a retreat hereafter. My office at home has become the Southern center of correspondence on negro education & its cognate themes. I encourage this & write letters literally by the thousand each year. I must do a great deal of work on indirect lines. I must draw people into the current of interest on these subjects.

Pardon all this. You do understand & it is a help to me [to] write you of my methods.

In my report to the May meeting I will cover fully 1885-86 & 1886-87—except this: the report must be prepared in April. I can't give the itemized expenditures of money by the several schools, for the matter will be in process—not ended. But I can report on the schools & the use of the money: i. e. show how it [is] all to go. Is this what you mean by y'r suggestion of a full report for the year? I could have done that last May for the year then going on, but I had been told to report what had actually been done with the money & that could not (April 1886) be done—two months & more remaining—for some schools there. Do not think I would willingly trouble you—I wish to do just what you think is wise.

I had a good trip—absent 4 weeks—lacking two days. I preached 9 times—made 16 addresses in the time: 6 sermons to white people. These 6 were helpful to the colored cause—I spoke as Slater Agent. We can extend our work wisely—using the whole \$40,000 for this year. In Little Rock, Ark. we will place some Slater money. *Our* white people there are going to build a shop—\$350 to \$400. We can extend in Mississippi—the Baptist School at Jackson (capital) is now ready to work on our lines. And in Louisiana at 2 points: 1. New Orleans. The Freedmen's Aid Society College there is ready now. It has a large patronage & the whole state & part of Mississippi is represented in it. 2. At Baldwyn y'r old friend Gorman. Give him \$500. He will do & his school is good & has *roots*—& 1200 acres rich rice & sugar lands. Better work is being done all around. Pardon so much at this time.

Y'rs ever,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Oxford, Ga.,
Aug. 9, 1887

My dear Friend:

I will write more formally to the other Trustees of the two months succeeding our meeting.

We were at Hampton Thursday, May 19. Friday night I addressed an audience—white & colored at Franklinton, N. C., where one of our schools is located. The subject was—the colored man's education in the John F. Slater Fund plan. The two following days I was in Raleigh. I spoke to a great crowd Saturday night in the Opera House on a local option prohibition issue & improved my opportunity to set before the leading people of Raleigh the importance and value of the right education of the negro race. Sunday A. M. I spoke in the African Methodist church to a large congregation of colored people on the christian education of their people. Sunday at 4 P. M. I had an open air meeting with an audience of 1000 or 1200: subject Temperance, Education & Family government. The following week I spent at home—wrote to our schools what to depend on from us for next school year.

June 1 I delivered the annual Commencement address at Biddle University, Charlotte, N. Carolina. Biddle is Presbyterian & high grade. Till now they have stood out—the only high grade colored school in the South taking their position—against industrial training. I had present the leading men of their Board from Pittsburgh, Pa. I discussed the whole subject in a two hours speech and had the happiness to hear soon after my return to Oxford, that Biddle proposes vigorously to join our column. It is a great victory for sound views on the subject of the education of the colored people.

June 1—(same)—at night I made a local option speech in the Court House in Concord, 20 miles north of Raleigh—white people in front, colored behind. The next night I spoke to a larger crowd, colored people in front & white people behind. In both speeches I brought in and discussed the education of the negro race. In the morning of June 2 I addressed the pupils of Scotia Seminary—one of our best girls' schools & gave the day to its business.

June 12 I delivered the Commencement Sermon for Wofford College (white) M[ethodist] E[piscopal] C[hurch] South, at Spartanburg, S. C. That night I delivered a lecture in the city to a colored audience (whites visitors in numbers) on the education of the race.

Next week commencement here.

June 25 I delivered the Commencement Sermon for the University of Mississippi at Oxford. That evening at 4 a lecture in town to the colored people—whites present in numbers—on my specialty, that night, by special request, an address to the Y. M. C. A. in the University chapel. *You* will see that my lectures to the colored people on these occasions was worth more to them by the indorsement put on me by the big white colleges in the morning.

July 8 to Aug. 2 I gave to Texas. I was urged to go there on account of my

supposed influence with colored people. I wrote to the Prohibition Committee that if I gave Texas part of my time for some weeks I would do so in my character as Slater Agent. I was everywhere received in that character, and, if I am any judge, did the best month's work I ever did anywhere for negro education. In 25 days I made 27 speeches, average two hours, & preached 4 sermons. In Texarkana I began & wound up in Galveston. I took the Trinity & Brazos valley regions for the first half—the Colorado & San Jacinto the rest. My audiences were from 500 to 5000—would average 2000 I think. Most of them in Opera houses or the open air.

Discussing temperance & prohibition I also pressed home the necessity of negro education—the blessedness of emancipation & of a restored union. My friend, God was with me. I believe I spoke & preached to 60,000 people. Hundreds of negro preachers & teachers came to me & I advised & encouraged as best as I could. I believe that my Texas campaign was the best I ever had opportunity to make for the colored man's interests.

I visited at Dallas the new building in process by the Bible Christians for colored education and gave needed advice. Did the same at Waco for our school there. A new building is about to be started.

I am at home & in health—though I was very tired for three days—a thing I never knew before. I am all right now & will devote most of August that is left to getting my office affairs & plans for the fall & winter in shape.

This is a long letter—but I have been busy. With very best wishes

Y'r friend,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Decatur, Ga. Nov. 16, 1887

Dear Mr. Hayes:

The writer of the inclosed was the head of the Lincoln University—Marion, Ala. See report (I mail one) page 24.²⁰ Some excitement rose in Marion by a fight between a white student of Howard College (Baptist) & one of the Lincoln boys. Birmingham wanted the Baptists to move Howard College there. They argued that Lincoln close by was bad for Howard. Marion hoping to save Howard managed, by using the rencontre between the white & colored boy—to induce the Legislature to set up a State School for colored people somewhere else. The Legislature made the appropriation & made Governor [Thomas] Seay, an advanced man, head of the Board to locate etc. The new school was set up in Montgomery & opens as you see from Mr. [W. B.] Patterson's letter. There was an effort to enjoin Gov. Seay. He went ahead & the ridiculous thing died of itself. At his request I went to Montgomery in the summer for conference as to location, plan, etc. It is a great gain to the State School to have had this removal. The upshot is

²⁰ Refers to *Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1886* (Hampton, Va., 1886).

significant: the colored school (as a State institution) was moved from Marion & set up in Montgomery, with a larger appropriation. The Birmingham people got Howard away from Marion & the Marion people are minus a white college & the American Missionary Association have taken up the work at Marion. I did what I could to bring this about—because Marion is right at the edge of the “Corn-brake lands,” sustaining a large negro population. I have taken the responsibility to say to Mr. Patterson that the Slater Fund will provide \$200 for his Montgomery Shops, in order to lease in Marion the outfit we gave there.

The \$650 he speaks of as needed for the work at Marion I did not absolutely promise. I said—if the A[merican] M[issionary] A[ssociation] takes up the Marion School & carries it on the Slater Fund will help if it can.

I think this \$650 ought to be placed at Marion—the school is in the right place—we have been helping there, with good results. They will work on our line. I submit the core—see report p. 6.

The schools never opened as well as this Fall.

Have just returned from S. Carolina & go to Florida this week. Our Jacksonville school starts well.

Y^rs. very truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Decatur Ga., Jan. 17, 1888

Dear Mr. Hayes:

In a few days I will send you a copy of the *Christian Advocate*—Nashville. It contains a four column article by our senior Bishop. He is also Regent of Vanderbilt University. The *Advocate* is the organ of the Southern Methodist General Conference—circulation 30,000 & over. Our late Senior threw cold water on the negro education business. Our present Senior, while still “behind the procession” writes the article I send you. Our people will come to *their* duty slowly—but the debate is over as to the general question. No man with a future in church or state—writes or speaks against the general proposition. Trinity Church (Southern Methodist) Atlanta—largest & richest in Georgia, last Sunday raised nearly \$1,000 for Paine Institute—the leading men fully committing themselves to the work. The Nashville editor writes me that he places Mrs. Hayes’ name on his complimentary list. I have just returned from Macon, Ga. Our Lewis Institute there is now under splendid management & the industrial idea runs through everything.

I hesitate to trouble you with such frequent letters—but I send a letter from Dr. Dunton. The progress at Claflin²¹ is amazing. Our industrial notions are revolutionizing the whole movement. I rejoice and take courage.

Y^rs very truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

²¹ Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina, Dr. L. M. Dunton, president.

Decatur, Ga., Oct. 17, 1888

Dear Mr. Hayes:

The drafts for just payments on appropriations for 1888-89 have been sent out and I have reports of the Fall openings. The beginnings are good; considering the yellow fever trouble, remarkably good. I sent to each member a letter containing items of special interest.

1. In Florida, Ala., Miss. & La. the yellow fever—the panic more than the fever except in Florida—has hindered more or less. The Jacksonville school²² will, it is expected, open Dec. 3. Mr. Artrell, the Principal a negro—has been the Chief of the Colored people's Relief Society. He has done heroic service & won universal praise. The schools in New Orleans suffer a slight delay; so do those near Jackson, Miss.—the teachers were North when the quarantine was set up. They will all be in place in a few days now; none of our teachers have been stricken.

2. At several of our schools there is notable building activity. In each case as I learn, the aid received from the John F. Slater Fund has led to the gifts that made the new buildings possible. At Brainerd Institute, Chester, S. C., a \$10,000 building is under way. It will nearly double the capacity of the school. An extra \$250 last year started this work, so Mr. [S.] Loomis [principal] says.

At Fisk the building for gymnasium and the industrial departments, mentioned in last report, 80 x 40 to cost about \$12,000 is well under way.

At Gilbert,²³ Godman our friend is on "a boom" in work & hope. The building completed last spring greatly increased their capacity for taking care of students. The aid from the Slater Fund has led to large things in the Industrial Department. Mr. [W. L.] Gilbert [Winsted, Connecticut] has pledged \$5,000 for an adequate Industrial building. Dr. Godman is jubilant.

At Claflin, S. C. owing to the liberality of the state in response to Governor [John P.] Richardson's earnest recommendations, large extension has been made to the Industrial plant. A \$1200 barn has been completed; a shop with machinery & tools costing \$3,000 also completed—only \$180 of Slater money being used in this splendid outfit. Between the Freedmen's Aid Society & Governor Claflin a chapel—needed a long time—80x90 is provided for & under way.

The "S. C. Armstrong Hall," Tuskegee, Ala., designed by our carpentry teacher, a negro—& built by student labor except the tin roof—is finished. Mr. [Booker T.] Washington, Principal, is now arranging for a \$1200 barn for the uses of the institution & instruction in the farming & cattle departments. Washington is a very remarkable NEGRO—a mulatto.

Meharry Medical College [Nashville] is to have a new & very important building—cornerstone to be laid Oct. 23.

²² Jacksonville Graded School, Jacksonville, Florida, Rev. W. M. Artrell, principal.

²³ Gilbert Seminary, Baldwin, Louisiana, Rev. W. S. Goodman, president.

Biddle University, Charlotte, N. C. only began the industrial lines a year ago. They are convinced & extend their work.

The chief building at Rush, Holly Springs, Miss. [which] burned last March is being restored.

Additional room for the Industrial Departments has been provided at Straight University [New Orleans].

The new brick building at Spelman [Female Institute], Atlanta, to take the place of the old wooden structure, burned a year ago, well advanced.

By the liberality of Mr. Ballard a \$12,000 building has been provided for Lewis Institute, Macon, Ga.

The plans of the Board for making an *object lesson* at one of the schools well advanced—at Clark University, Atlanta. The \$5,000 brick building Mr. Ballard's gift, was built in time for our enlarged work there. I have given a great deal of attention to this new departure at Clark since our meeting. We will get some contributions from Atlanta. The work is going on under most capable direction. I will nurse it well & report from time to time.

I am sure that nearly all the money given to these schools for buildings—except as to those burned—was *induced* by the work wrought through the Slater aid.²⁴ This Slater money breeds—dollar for dollar.

The brainiest man in the next Ga. Legislature has promised me to lay himself out for a law bringing our public schools to efficiency. Wrote me yesterday for all I had printed. I am getting up for him information full and conducive on the whole subject. Providence leads me & helps me.

I write to the rest of the Board—stopping at the word dollar above.

Y'rs. truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Decatur, Ga., Nov. 8, 1888

Dear Mr. Hayes:

It is President Harrison & may God make him a blessing to the whole country.

I met Mr. [Henry W.] Grady yesterday in Atlanta. I said: "Mr. Grady—is there any hope for Cleveland?" He said—"None in the world." I replied "Now Grady, boom Georgia." He said [""]I am going to copy your letter Sunday.[""] He meant the one I sent you in the Wesl[e]yan Chris[tian] A[d]v[ocate]—on Georgia's public schools.

The letter has struck fire. The pastor of the leading Georgia Methodist Church—Trinity in Atlanta—invites me to preach in his pulpit on the subject of the education of the masses—Sunday night week with special effort to get out the

²⁴ By the terms of the gift, the Trustees were not allowed to use money for land or buildings.

Legislature. I am now doing my utmost to get Mr. Grady thoroughly committed to it—& believe I will succeed.

If Georgia makes her public schools what they ought to be the rest will follow. I was to have visited some schools this week. I put it off to get ready to speak to the Legislature & the people on the great question of public education.

I believe I can do nothing more useful to the Slater Fund just now than what I propose & purpose.

The Election was quiet—the Republicans carried two wards in Atlanta. The negroes who wished voted—polling heavy votes in some places. They were in great force in Atlanta. There is disappointment here—no excitement that won't die out in a few days. Some pessimists fear more Federal interference—re reconstruction etc. I tell them no; if there were no other reason, there is too much money invested by Northern people in the South. If General Harrison carries on the policy you inaugurated four years more will about put sectionalism out of politics in this country. I understand that he is a good clean man—who fears God & does right. I can ask no more than this in my President.

No frost yet in this place—

Y'rs truly & ever,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Decatur, Ga., Feb. 18, 1889

Dear Mr. Hayes:

Do pardon this—I know the delicacy of your position. You need not in any way answer this. It is on my conscience to write it, in the common interests. My anxiety for peace & progress is my excuse. General [William] Mahone in the Cabinet is a source of irritation. The Southern people will grow "harder of heart" under him in a Cabinet position. I believe I know the drifts of sentiment in the Southern states as well as most men. A man like Mahone will solidify Bourbonism. Unless the natural movement among us is arrested the South is going to divide on National issues on economic & business considerations. Above all things—we need to have done with the solid South. The germs of the new movement are everywhere. If Mahone's Virginia methods are used they will fall on these tender shoots like a black frost. Our people have no faith in Gen'l Mahone. They don't believe he has any convictions.

I have not a personal or family interest in the business. I am speaking to you what I have believed since November—that Ex. Governor [Rufus B.] Bullock is a man every way fitter for a Cabinet place. He has brains—business habits—business training—knowledge of men & of public affairs. He is moreover—a gentleman. I believe that his record is as good as the best who might be thought of. There is now no prejudice against him in Georgia. He has been an unflinch-

ingly consistent Republican all the way. Everybody knows this—he has not made offerings to our Democratic sentiments. He has been a steadfast Republican & is in Georgia, easily, its foremost and best man.

This much I have written because it is in my heart to do it. I need not even know that you receive it.

Y'rs truly,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

Sheffield, Ala.,

June 11, 1890

My dear Friend:

I reached home yesterday. Last Thursday at 11 a. m. I spoke in Montgomery, Ala. to a great crowd—at the commencement of the State Normal School for colored people. Thursday night preached to our people. Friday morning went through the industrial exhibits & plans for next year. During past year 175 girls were taught sewing in all ordinary branches & 90 boys hand-tools, carpentry, turning & such like. Their success has been great. Sunday a. m. I preached commencement sermon for the leading school our church has in the gulf states. That evening at 4 an address on Negro Education in the African Methodist Church—about 40 leading white preachers & citizens present.

You will not think that my consenting to ordination means the least decadence of interest in the uplifting of the Negro & the many-sided interests that rise or fall with him. I dared not say "no," this second time—with so overwhelming a sentiment urging me—the largest vote (I am told by those who have minute knowledge in such matters) ever cast for any Bishop in our church. There was a strange enthusiasm about it—the outburst when the counting showed that it was done stopped proceedings for several minutes. The Evening paper said "Almost a tumult." I was not there—had not seen the Conference at all. I mention these little things to show you with what an emphasis the demand was made on me. You speak of it as an "immense personal triumph." Considering that there was some prejudice against me for declining in 1882 & the fierce fire I was under so long, what you say is true. But I know you understand that *this* had nothing to do with my acceptance of the place.

As to the Agency—I don't wish to retain it one day after it is thought best to make other arrangements. I have not thought of other than a very modified relation after next Annual meeting. I know I can manage the year we have entered on & I would like to "round up" the work laid out May 6 in N. York. But—I wish nothing that sacrifices the least interest—or harmony. If I remain in charge till next May I wish to prepare a sort of resume or final statement—reviewing, gathering up in one full, brief statement what we have sought & what we have done.

I hear of many applicants—Northern and Southern—for the Slater Agency. Letters come to me about my successor & letters come to me almost daily urging me not to let go all relation to it etc. The ablest woman I know in our church wrote me yesterday. Leading lay men—preachers & about half the principals of the schools related to us write in the same tone. I answer politely that the matters have not been discussed as yet, etc. This further—rather it is the same thing over: Don't let any view I have embarrass your views or your action in the least. I hope great good will grow out of the Mohonk Conference. I see an Atlanta paper this morning says I made a speech there!

Y'rs Faithfully,

A. G. HAYGOOD

Hon. R. B. Hayes

A CANADIAN VIEW OF PARTIES AND ISSUES ON THE
EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

Edited by JAMES J. TALMAN

Among the most valuable documents in the Ontario Archives are the Clarke Papers,¹ while in that collection the most valuable letters are those from George Sheppard to Charles Clarke. Most of Sheppard's letters deal with Canadian politics but five of them are of interest to the South.

Sheppard was born about 1820 at Newark-on-Trent, England. After a varied newspaper career in England he migrated to America in 1850 where, it is said, he founded an English colony in Iowa or in Illinois, near the Iowa border.² However, he was disappointed in the project and went to Washington where he became associate editor of the *Daily Republic*. From 1854 to 1857 he was connected with the actuarial department of the Canada Life Insurance Company. In the autumn of 1857 he returned to journalism as editor of the *Toronto Daily Colonist*.

¹ Presented to the Ontario Archives by Mrs. Rose E. Clarke of Detroit.

² The sources do not agree. Search has failed to disclose any settlement, in either state, with which Sheppard was identified. I am indebted to Dr. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and Mr. Paul M. Angle, librarian, Illinois State Historical Library, for having the searches made.

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In 1859 Sheppard, then an editorial writer for the *Toronto Globe*, took a prominent part in the reform convention of that year but his stand cost him his position and he joined the *Hamilton Times*. On July 8, 1860, he wrote that he hoped to go to the United States; by October 8 he was in Washington. It was at this time, while serving on the staff of the *Washington Constitution*, that Sheppard wrote the letters of which extracts are given below. They reveal an accurate impression of the business depression in Washington during the winter of 1860-1861, and they indicate a partisan editorial writer's strong leanings toward the principles of the Breckinridge party. Sheppard's statement in his letter of February 4, that only "the personal popularity & the strong appeals of Toombs, Jefferson Davis, & others like them" had kept the South Carolinians from firing upon Fort Sumter, is worth noting.

Sheppard soon returned to Canada and joined the editorial staff of the *Toronto Leader* which took such a strong stand over the *Trent* affair that the *New York Times*, January 1, 1862, hinted that Sheppard was in the pay of Jefferson Davis. From 1862 to 1864 he was at Quebec; later he went to the *New York Times* as a writer of political articles. In 1869 he took over the direction of the editorial page but soon returned to his previous position. He died at Jamaica Plain, Boston, in 1912.³

Charles Clarke, to whom the letters below were written, was born in England in 1826. He migrated to Canada in 1843 and settled near Elora, Canada West (now Ontario). In 1871 he was elected a member of the legislative assembly of Ontario for Wellington Centre and represented that constituency continuously until 1894. He was speaker of the assembly from 1880 to 1885 and from 1901 to 1907 was clerk of the assembly. He died in 1909.⁴

³ Henry J. Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (Quebec, 1862), 659; *id.*, *Bibliotheca Canadensis* (Ottawa, 1867), 345-47; John R. Robertson, *Landmarks of Canada* (Toronto, 1917), 77; George W. Brown, "The Grit Party and the Great Reform Convention of 1859," in *Canadian Historical Review* (Toronto, 1920-), XVI (1936), 245-65; Fred Landon, "The Trent Affair of 1861," *ibid.*, III (1923), 48-57; Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times, 1851-1921* (New York, 1921), 84-86.

⁴ W. Stewart Wallace (comp.), *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1926), 84-85.

Washington, D. C. Oct 8, 1860.

My dear Clarke:

I must again begin at the beginning, I suppose. Having read to you the private epistle w^h invited me hither, you know under what circumstances I came. The vague hope encouraged by my friend was realized on my arrival. Without stopping to higggle [*sic*] about terms, I came to an understanding with the chairman of the Breckinridge Committee in reference to writing during the remainder of the campaign; & forthwith I proceeded to work. Unfortunately I overtasked myself. . . . The M. D. forbade all labor, but to give up *that* w^d have been to give up the whole chance. . . .

Of course this second 'shake' fills me with misgivings. The *South* had been marked out for future effort, as well by my deliberate choice as by the purposes of my friends, personal & political. The editorship of a Virginia paper has been spoken of for me, after the campaign; but the Doctor counsels me to decline, & to look rather to the mountains & sea breezes of New England. As things are, however, this is idle talk. The present gives me quite enough to think about & do. My aim is to nurse myself through the campaign, which will terminate exactly a month hence, & to come out of it with an assurance that I have not belied the expectations of my friends. . . .

You don't want me to inflict upon you a tedious essay upon parties, candidates, & so forth, as seen in the fight now in progress? I am on the Breckinridge side, as you know—not because I admire the man, but because I am convinced that the platform upon w^h he stands is the only platform compatible with the maintenance of the Union—the only one in harmony with the constitution, & the long-recognized principles of the Democratic party. Besides, so far as my personal knowledge goes, I like the southern politicians & people better than those of the north & west: they are more truly liberal, more generous, & vastly more devoted to principle. You can't buy or bully them, as northern politicians & voters are bought & bullied. The Bell-Everett party are the Know Nothings, & to foreign born folk that is enough to condemn them. Douglas is personally a charlatan, a selfish & desperate adventurer, bankrupt in fortune & character. His squatter sovereignty doctrine is illogical, at variance with constitutional principles, & wholly unsatisfactory in practice. The Lincoln party, though the antipodes of the Southrons, are next to them in the force & logical strength of their principles. My reading of the constitution makes me what is known as a State Rights' Democrat. Were that construction rendered impossible, I should be "a black republican," rather than a "squatter sovereign" or the miserable dog in the manger called a Know Nothing.

As to the issue of the contest, the odds are in my opinion in favor of Lincoln's

success; though that is by no means so certain as you may have been led to suppose.

Of this I am confident—if Lincoln be elected, there will be trouble in the country of a kind not seen by the present generation. Abolitionism & the Union cannot coexist. And if an anti slavery party for the time triumph, the Union will not be worth three months' purchase. Ten years ago I heard southern threats upon this subject. But the temper now visible in the south bears no resemblance to that w^h has been spoken of on previous occasions. The stern resolves, the hearty unity of opinion, the universality of the conviction that the final issue of life or death must now be met & disposed of whatever be the consequences: these are things to w^h there has been no parallel since the formation of the government.

It is because I anticipate Lincoln's election, & because I am sure that that occurrence will develop an era of revolution, that I am anxious—or, at least, desirous—to manage so that I shall remain here throughout the winter. . . .

Your Friend,

Geo. Sheppard.

Washington, D. C., Nov 5/60.

My dear Clarke—

My expectation, as you are aware, has been, to revisit Toronto immediately after the election. This expectation will not be realized. For although the positive engagement entered into terminates with the canvass, my friends deem it essential for me to be 'on hand.' So far, my success, professionally considered, has exceeded my hopes. I have regained the standing w^h I foolishly surrendered seven years ago, & have won a character w^h, *if peace continue*, will be of great service to me. The proprietor of the *Constitution*, to w^h I have been the principal contributor, has intimated an intention to make me a permanent offer; & from high political quarters I receive expressions of satisfaction, elicited by the work I have done. You will not attribute the mention of the fact to conceit, I'm sure. I tell it to you because I know that you will share the pleasure I cannot but feel at a success achieved amidst many difficulties.

Whether the *Constitution* offer will actually be made, or whether, in any shape, I realize the fruits of my industry, remains to be seen. We are in a crisis which shakes all contracts, & renders all arrangements exceedingly precarious. Tomorrow will decide more than the presidency. It will determine the fate of the Union. I speak honestly, & in no partisan sense. You in the far north have no conception of the trouble that will follow Lincoln's election, w^h I fear may be regarded as a certainty. My associations enable me to declare confidently that Lincoln's success will be followed by revolution, peaceful or bloody. The

wealthy southern states are already in quasi revolt. The revolutionary cockade is seen even here; & the 4th of March next will witness the secession of states & the formation of a southern confederacy. My conviction is that that step will be justifiable—that, in truth, it will be a measure of self defence, forced upon the slaveholding states by the assaults of a horde of fanatics, whose benevolence expends itself upon a race marked by God for a condition of servitude.

In view of future federation in British America, any action taken by the south in the direction of secession will involve questions worthy of y^r careful study. Can a state constitutionally withdraw from a federal union? Can a state constitutionally resist what its people consider the unfriendly attitude of the federal government? In other words, does a state, in entering into a federal alliance, relinquish its sovereignty? The states' right doctrine is, that a state retains its sovereignty & may therefore secede. The doctrine follows logically from the Jefferson idea of democracy—was irrefragably expounded by Calhoun—& permeates southern politics, & also the national section of the northern democracy. The old federal notion of a strong central government covers exactly the opposite conclusions. In this contest I know where your principles will place you, howsoever strong may be your partiality for the nigger-worshipping, foreigner hating republicans.

I refer to these points, however, simply to direct your thoughts to a vital issue in the pending controversy, & not to bother you with party considerations, in wh^h you can feel but the most general interest. Excuse me, if I've said too much.

Believe me,

Faithfully y^r friend,

Geo. Sheppard.

Chas. Clarke Esq Elora, C[anada] W[est]

Washington, D. C., Dec. 17, 1860.

My dear Clarke—

I need not undertake to describe matters here & throughout the south. They are almost indescribable. Whatever newspaper accounts you read fail to convey an idea of the state of the controversy between the two sections, & the hopelessness of everything like reconciliation. My honest belief is that nothing under heaven can avert secession of five or six states; & that, instead of wasting words about plans of compromise, the wiser course for all parties would be to address themselves to the peaceable arrangement of the terms upon wh^h the separation shall be conducted. Only by such a course can civil war be prevented.

Meanwhile the prostration of every interest & enterprise exceeds anything I have ever seen. This city, wh^h at this season has hitherto been full of life, & over-

flowing with prosperity, is now the picture of desolation. Few strangers are here; the hotels & restaurants are deserted; storekeepers are not covering expenses; & property owners see naught but ruin. This state of things must continue until the 4th of March. Whether it will then change for the better or worse, I venture not to prophecy [*sic*]. My opinion is, that if no amicable arrangement be come to in the meantime—if the secession be not recognized in a friendly spirit, & any disposition be shown to resort to coercion—the 4th March will witness a conflict in the streets of Washington. Let blood be shed, & the horrors of the first French revolution will be reënacted.

Individually, of course, I suffer with the rest. Of work I have plenty, but payment is almost *uncomeatable*. How I shall proceed when the crisis reach[es] the decisive point, I know not. My convictions are with the South. I hold that it is in the right—that its claims are just, constitutional, necessary—that their recognition by the northern fanatics is not to be hoped for—and therefore that the South is bound by every consideration of honor & interest to withdraw from the Union & organize an independent Confederacy. I hold, further, that the Federal System implies the maintenance of State sovereignty, & that that, again, involves the right of secession. On the merits of the quarrel, then, I am with the South. But as yet I don't see any opening for myself, personally, in the South, except in districts not favorable to my own or my family's health.

So far, however, I have no cause of complaint. My position equals my highest expectations; & if my prospects are dark & dreary, I do but share the misfortunes of millions. With all its inconveniences, this crisis is a study w^h I w^d not readily have foregone. There has been nothing like it in our day.

Ever faithfully,
Geo. Sheppard.

Chas. Clarke Esq., Elora, C[anada] W[est]

Washington, D. C; Jan. 24, 1861.

My dear Clarke—

Your letter of the 12th reached me *last Thursday*, & afforded me sincere gratification. The previous letter to w^h you refer—Dec. 26th—*never came to hand*, & I often wondered at your silence. As a general rule, however, I can't complain of postal irregularities, I have had some four or five miscarriages since coming here, but acquaintances have had many more. I thank you for y^r abstract of M^cGee's⁵ lecture, & concur in his views as to the tendency of American disunion to hasten a closer alliance between the Canadas & the northern states. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the slavery question is the sole cause of secession. In a

⁵ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a Canadian orator, writer, and politician.

letter⁶ w^h I last night addressed to the *Leader* I have briefly indicated other causes; & in a series of letters⁷ addressed in Nov^r & Dec. to the *Ottawa Citizen* I discussed in detail the influences of mind & habit & interest & principle w^h render the north & South two peoples. I see nothing that sh^d occasion regret in the fact of separation. The principles of popular government do not suffer; for two republics, side by side, can afford no more consolation to monarchists than one. The *States* are the true embodiments of democracy, & their individuality remains as before. Nay, the South, in asserting state sovereignty, gives an impetus to democratic principles; & it will be curious & profitable to watch the relative working of the two systems when the Southern Confederacy shall be under weigh.

But I fear that the country, especially the South, has a terrible trial to pass through, before these troubles end. Everybody hopes for a pacific solution—a friendly parting; but nobody can assign a reason for the slightest hope upon the subject. Whether civil war come or not, the injury done to business interests, to industry, to every man living by labor, is almost indescribable. Cases of insanity are frequent hereabout, occasioned by losses of property; & our principal city physician tells me that the rapid increase of nervous disorders, tending to insanity, is beyond all precedent. The well-to-do amongst the naturalized citizens are disposed to leave the country. Some are preparing to go to their native countries; & one man, an Englishman who has been here 30 years, starts in a few weeks for the Cape of Good Hope!

No enterprise is suffering more than newspapers, north & south. In this city there is not a paper at this moment unembarrassed, & in a brief period two, perhaps three, will die. Of mere position, professionally or politically, one has more than enough, but it implies constant labor, & in these times nominal reward. With large amounts owing, it is difficult to meet current board-bills. The proprietor of the *Constitution*, the secession journal of this city, proposes to remove his concern to the capital of the Southern Confederacy, wherever it may be, & asks me to go with him. In the absence of other openings, I may go. At any rate I expect to visit Alabama, early in February, to be present at the convention called to organize the provisional government.

Faithfully yours,
Geo. Sheppard.

Chas. Clarke, Esq., Elora, Canada West.

⁶ This letter, unsigned and dated January 24, was printed in the *Toronto Leader*, January 29, 1861, and was reprinted in the *Weekly Leader*, February 1. Other dispatches, evidently sent by Sheppard, were printed in the *Leader*, December 18, 24, 1860; January 2, 5, 7, 15, 19, February 7, 13, 18, 25, March 2, 9, 11, 18, 26, and April 1, 8, 1861, and were reprinted in the *Weekly Leader*.

⁷ These, headed "From our Washington Correspondent," were printed in the *Ottawa*

[Washington] Feb. 4-Monday Aftⁿ [1861]

My dear Clarke,

I have yours of the 29th, & I thank you for your promptitude. I culled a few articles f^m the *Constitution*, to show my standing ground in the controversy, & these must serve for the time as a substitute for a copy of the paper. As the secession organ, its worth here was accomplished when the secession of the cotton states was completed, & its publication has been suspended to admit of the removal of type & machinery to the South, where the paper will hereafter be published—I suppose as the oracle of the new Confederacy. I see that you still indulge in *ifs* concerning disunion. They are superfluous. There is no longer an *if* in the question. The Union *is* dissolved beyond hope of repair or reconstruction. The real South *has* seceded, & time will but render the breach wider & wider. In the end, I am satisfied that the Southern Confederacy will be *the* Confederacy of the continent. The London *Times* at length discerns this fact, as you may have learnt f^m one of its latest articles. The resources, the geographical advantages, the scope for expansion, all point to Southern power. It will have as the *Times* says, "The most magnificent domain in the world" & the pharisaical north will wake up to find itself an inferior country "with no higher destiny than Canada." Excuse me for saying that when you talk of "the gradual extinction of slavery," as a result to be acquiesced in by the whole Union, as it was, you commit the ordinary abolition blunder. The South defends slavery of the negro, as *per se*, good; & the whole aspect of the controversy is changed thereby. My own conviction is that slavery is the proper condition of the negro on this continent; & that only slave labor can cultivate the soil w^h is exposed to the burning sun & the poisonous exhalations of the cotton, rice, & sugar districts. The experience of the British West Indies affords all the proof I need, of the ruin that follows emancipation—of the ineradicable laziness & vice of the negro when suffered to be his own master. There is nothing in the mere name. And I am sure that the servitude of the negro upon a southern plantation differs but nominally in actual bondage from that of the hired white man in mines & factories. The *bona fide* difference is in favor of the nigger. In another respect you err. The southern people have many faults, but, whatever they be, lack of courage is not amongst them. In readiness for fight, they have no equals. Accustomed to the use of arms from boyhood, they are skilled to a high degree. Exposed constantly to influences w^h make every man the guardian of his own "honor," they carry their lives upon their sleeves, & will fight at any moment with as much coolness as you & I eat our breakfast. In persistent pluck, perhaps,

Citizen, November 2, 6, December 4, 5, 21, 1860, and were continued in 1861 for some time. The dispatches to the *Leader* and the *Citizen* were not identical. I am indebted to Mr. F. C. Jennings, librarian of the Carnegie Public Library, Ottawa, Canada, where the only file of the *Citizen* for this period is preserved, for this information and for comparing the dispatches.

no essential difference exists between north & south. Fairly roused, both will battle to the death. But in dash, & quickness, & willingness to face danger, there is no comparison; the South is ahead, as every northern man I know is willing to concede. As to the Charleston occurrences, remember that you read only the adverse representations. It suits the northern, anti-slavery press, to hold up the Southern people to derision as a race of braggarts; & to this circumstance may much of the prevailing alienation be attributed. That Fort Sumter was not attacked long ago, is a fact for w^h the South Carolinians must not be held responsible. The secession leaders have desired to prevent bloodshed, under a belief that such a calamity w^d complicate negotiations hereafter to be entered into between the new confederacy & the fag end of the Union; & I speak whereof I know, when I say that nothing but the personal popularity & the strong appeals of Toombs, Jefferson Davis, & others like them, have restrained the Carolinians thus far. They are ready, depend upon it; & when the trial comes, they will be fully equal to the best of Englishmen.

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Gratefully & faithfully,
Geo. Sheppard.

Book Reviews

Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies. By Julia Cherry Spruill. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Pp. viii, 426. Bibliography, illustrations. \$5.00.)

This book is an important contribution to the social history of colonial America. The author's purpose indicates the encyclopedic treatment of women's life. It was, she says, "to find out as much as possible about the everyday life of women, their function in the settlement of colonies, their homes and domestic occupations, their social life and recreations, the aims and methods of their education, their participation in affairs outside the home, and the manner in which they were regarded by the law and by society in general." Inevitably the available records deal more with the woman in the mansion than with her sister in the hut, but the author's diligent search for information on these points has been surprisingly successful.

The first eight chapters deal with the domestic life of women. Women's homes, servants, courtships, husbands, children, clothes, and pastimes are treated in detail—185 pages of detail, none of it wearying. Two chapters deal with the intellectual interests of upper-class women, their schooling and libraries. The four following chapters treat women outside the home. Women in the Colonial period were doctors, teachers, lawyers (in the very early days), shopkeepers, ferryboat operators, planters, printers, actresses, tavern keepers; women engaged in fact in almost every activity except politics. They had little place in public affairs; not even the Revolution brought them out of their political obscurity. Jefferson hoped women would be "too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics" (p. 245), but most men never thought of women at all in connection with politics.

The last two chapters deal with legal problems. Women received equal punishments but unequal privileges under the law. "All women were without political rights, and generally wives were legal nonentities," for as soon as a woman married, "her legal existence was suspended or incorporated into that of her husband, who was regarded as her head and lord" (pp. 340, 341). That puts their position in law succinctly. Even though many women had property at one time or another during their lives, few ever knew what it was to control it, except during a few months of widowhood. Man and wife were one in the eyes of the law, and there could be no separate property rights. "Separate purses

between man and wife," said the *Spectator*, were as "unnatural as separate beds" (p. 366).

This is an honest study. The author could easily have attempted the light, rather flippant manner so affected by those who wish to popularize a subject. Instead, the results of serious, prolonged research are presented clearly, lucidly, and soberly, with no effort to cover up lack of material or to high-light the inherently interesting at the expense of the important but less vivid material.

The book is attractively gotten up. There is a fine bibliography of primary sources and an unusually full index. Perfectly delightful illustrations by Lucia Porcher Johnson combine with Mrs. Spruill's text to make a grand study of women, and by women, but for everybody.

Agnes Scott College

PHILIP DAVIDSON

Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland. By Raphael Semmes. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. Pp. vii, 334. \$3.00.)

Colonial Justice in Virginia: The Development of a Judicial System, Typical Laws and Cases of the Period. By George Lewis Chumbley. (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1938. Pp. ix, 174. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

The principal justification for considering these two works in one review is the similarity of their approach to the problems of colonial justice. When a generation ago Professor Chitwood prepared his able study of *Justice in Colonial Virginia*, the prevailing concern was with what was known as institutional history, which for practical purposes usually meant investigation, along functional and jurisdictional lines, of governmental institutions. The purpose of Messrs. Semmes and Chumbley is quite different. Their primary concern is with what is known as social history. The one does for seventeenth century Maryland about as good a job of police reporting as could be asked. The other, working largely in Williamsburg and writing perhaps with the tourists of that city in mind, endeavors to supplement the picture of colonial life to be had there by the modern visitor—a purpose, let it be said, with which the reviewer is entirely sympathetic.

Of the two, Dr. Semmes' volume merits the more serious attention. It is an unusual work, difficult to describe, and impossible to summarize. It is based upon painstaking research, contains an extraordinary amount of detail, and is skillfully constructed. Yet it is hardly to be called a study. There is no central thesis binding the various parts together. There seems to be no particular point that the author is anxious to make. To a remarkable extent he remains in the background, letting his material speak for itself. Much that might be done with this material he makes no attempt at all to do. For example, the chief value of the work lies in the fact that it is based upon court records, including those of the counties, but there is no effort toward a well-integrated study of such fundamental problems as were dealt with by Professor Morris in his *Studies*

in the *History of American Law*. Much will be found relating to such questions as women's rights at law and responsibility for tortious acts, but the basic principles of Maryland's evolving law will have to be worked out by the reader himself on the basis of the materials provided. By this it is not intended to criticize a man who has provided one very useful book for not having provided at the same time another useful book. The purpose is merely to indicate the nature of the work. And that, after all is said, is perhaps best done by simply saying that anyone who wants to find out, without ploughing through the many and weighty tomes of the *Maryland Archives*, what the people of Maryland went to court about in the seventeenth century can do so by reading this book. The statement taken alone does less than justice to its author, but that is his really important contribution.

The picture thus provided of colonial life will prove startling, even revolting, to some of his readers. The range of the subject matter is well enough indicated by the following chapter headings: "Trial, Punishment and Imprisonment"; "Houses, Clothing and Theft"; "Livestock and Hog Stealing"; "Servant Discipline and Punishment"; "Homicide, Assault and Suicide"; "Drunkenness, Profanity and Witchcraft"; "Adultery, Fornication and Bastardy"; "Defamation"; "Sickness, Chirurgery and Burials." Hundreds of quotations, direct from the court records, are introduced with absolutely no concession to squeamishness. The result is an unfolding story of life that was cruel, coarse, and almost unbelievably vulgar.

Those involved in court proceedings do not present the whole picture of any society. But they do present a highly significant part of the picture, and a part too frequently ignored heretofore in many studies of the Southern colonies. Judging by this work, several cherished popular convictions regarding our ancestors will be shaken, if not fully destroyed, by further investigation along these lines. One example is the view that the worst offences were restricted to the servant classes. There must have been a shortage of men of the "better sort," in some communities at least, when one commissioner of the county court, captain of militia, and sheriff in Kent County was not only illiterate, but was on various occasions called upon to answer charges of being a common swearer, a common drunkard, a cattle thief, and of beating his servants to death, while his wife was accused of adultery.

It would be helpful if the subject matter of the volume were more completely indexed. In addition to a brief topical index, there is a separate index of names. Persons with ancestors should be prepared for the worst.

By comparison, Mr. Chumbley's work is slight and disappointing. He relies principally upon the statutes, the published records of the council, and contemporary comment. He ranges over an extremely wide field for the space allotted to it. His treatment is frequently discursive, and he ventures into several larger

questions of interpretation without an adequate grasp of the work of other students. Principal interest attaches to his discussion of the hustings courts at Williamsburg, and the introduction of several unpublished items relating thereto from the Norton Papers.

New York University

WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN

The Peopling of Virginia. By R. Bennett Bean. (Boston: Chapman & Grimes, Inc., 1938. Pp. viii, 302. Illustrations, charts, appendix, bibliography. \$3.00.)

In his *The Peopling of Virginia*, Dr. Bean attempts "to present in brief the origins of the various groups of people who came to Virginia from time to time and to determine something of their racial composition" (p. 3).

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, a "Short Roman History of the Peopling of Virginia," traces briefly the growth of Virginia, indicating the location in the state of the chief groups of immigrants. Part II, "The Peopling of the Counties of Virginia," gives "short, short histories" of the one hundred counties of the commonwealth. There is a thumbnail sketch of each county, telling how it was formed, some of its principal families and individuals, and a table of percentages of names of different nationalities in the county, based on such lists as "Rent Rolls," "Well Known Families," "Tax Rolls," etc. Part III, "A Short Review of Some Measurements and Observations of Old Virginia Families," contains four chapters, "Stature," "Sitting Height and Leg Length," "Cephalic Index Head Length and Breadth," and "Hair and Eye Color." In them are included abstracts from monographs previously published. Here the author makes use of measurements not only of people of Old Virginia families but also of 6,150 others—white, Negro, and Filipino.

The Peopling of Virginia shows evidence of a great amount of work. Since Dr. Bean is an able professor of anatomy, a past president of the Anthropological Section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and a writer of many monographs in his chosen field, the reviewer will assume that the anthropological side of the work is well done and will deal only with that part which lies within his own field of history.

It is unfortunate that the author did not consult with a professional historian familiar with Virginia history, for the usefulness of his book is impaired by a great many errors, and there are no footnotes for reference to authorities. A few of the errors are: The date for the settlement at Jamestown is given as June 22, 1607 (p. 3), and Norfolk is spoken of as the first settlement in Virginia (p. 68); "The year 1618 was a sad one. . . . Sir Thomas Smith, treasurer, returned to England leaving the colony \$3,000 in debt" (p. 10); "Communism existed in Virginia up to this time, after which it became a King's Colony" (p. 12); George Mason "was the author of the Constitution of the United States" (p.

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18) ; "the oldest American college at Henricus" (p. 22) ; "James Blair was the first Chancellor of the College [of William and Mary] and often has been called the Archbishop of Canterbury of Virginia" (p. 22).

There are some mistakes which are apparently errors in copying. As examples, Sir Edmund Sandys stands for Sir Edwin Sandys (p. 11) ; "Cromwell's" army was defeated at Guilford Court House (p. 155) ; and "Fort Christian" in Brunswick appears for Fort Christanna. The reviewer is also puzzled to know why the name Carrington is written in capitals on pages 142 and 143 instead of in the normal way, as on page 102.

Some very broad and dogmatic statements are made without apparent justification or authority, such as: "The Savage family came to Virginia in 1607, and they represent the oldest family still living in the United States" (p. 81) ; "the administration of Governor Yeardley whose two years of office were the most significant ever known in Virginia" (p. 12) ; "The greatest assembly that ever convened in Virginia met in 1776 in Williamsburg" (p. 34) ; "The rifles perfected by the Gunmakers of the Mountains of Virginia won the Revolution in the hands of Morgan's riflemen" (p. 36).

The bibliography suffers both from omissions and from commissions. T. D. Gold, for example, is named as the author of Fairfax Harrison's scholarly *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, and Hening is spelled "Henning."

College of William and Mary

RICHARD L. MORTON

James Madison: Philosopher of the Constitution. By Edward McNall Burns. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1938. Pp. x, 212. Bibliography. \$2.50.)

From a reading of this interesting and well-written study, it would appear that James Madison was not a great liberal—certainly not in the present-day sense of the term. He favored a representative republic, but opposed a pure democracy. He wished a three-year term for national representatives and a nine-year term for senators, and believed a three-fourths vote of Congress should be required to override a presidential veto. He did not believe unequivocally in universal manhood suffrage; he believed the chief end of government was the protection of property, in the broad sense, and that it would be well to have manhood suffrage for elections to one house and property qualifications for elections to the other. Clearly, he did not regard more democracy as the cure for democracy's ills. Like Hamilton, he believed protective tariffs were constitutional, and that they were a desirable means of bringing about a proper balancing of classes in the state. Like Jefferson, he deplored the institution of slavery, but continued to own slaves until his death. Unlike Calhoun, he regarded sovereignty as divisible and alienable and believed that an actual division of sovereignty was made by the Constitution of 1787 (p. 94). He disbelieved in the

18); "the oldest American college at Henricus" (p. 22); "James Blair was the first Chancellor of the College [of William and Mary] and often has been called the Archbishop of Canterbury of Virginia" (p. 22).

There are some mistakes which are apparently errors in copying. As examples, Sir Edmund Sandys stands for Sir Edwin Sandys (p. 11); "Cromwell's" army was defeated at Guilford Court House (p. 155); and "Fort Christian" in Brunswick appears for Fort Christanna. The reviewer is also puzzled to know why the name Carrington is written in capitals on pages 142 and 143 instead of in the normal way, as on page 102.

Some very broad and dogmatic statements are made without apparent justification or authority, such as: "The Savage family came to Virginia in 1607, and they represent the oldest family still living in the United States" (p. 81); "the administration of Governor Yeardley whose two years of office were the most significant ever known in Virginia" (p. 12); "The greatest assembly that ever convened in Virginia met in 1776 in Williamsburg" (p. 34); "The rifles perfected by the Gunmakers of the Mountains of Virginia won the Revolution in the hands of Morgan's riflemen" (p. 36).

The bibliography suffers both from omissions and from commissions. T. D. Gold, for example, is named as the author of Fairfax Harrison's scholarly *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, and Hening is spelled "Henning."

College of William and Mary

RICHARD L. MORTON

James Madison: Philosopher of the Constitution. By Edward McNall Burns. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1938. Pp. x, 212. Bibliography. \$2.50.)

From a reading of this interesting and well-written study, it would appear that James Madison was not a great liberal—certainly not in the present-day sense of the term. He favored a representative republic, but opposed a pure democracy. He wished a three-year term for national representatives and a nine-year term for senators, and believed a three-fourths vote of Congress should be required to override a presidential veto. He did not believe unequivocally in universal manhood suffrage; he believed the chief end of government was the protection of property, in the broad sense, and that it would be well to have manhood suffrage for elections to one house and property qualifications for elections to the other. Clearly, he did not regard more democracy as the cure for democracy's ills. Like Hamilton, he believed protective tariffs were constitutional, and that they were a desirable means of bringing about a proper balancing of classes in the state. Like Jefferson, he deplored the institution of slavery, but continued to own slaves until his death. Unlike Calhoun, he regarded sovereignty as divisible and alienable and believed that an actual division of sovereignty was made by the Constitution of 1787 (p. 94). He disbelieved in the

organic or revolutionary theory of the state and insisted that government had no inherent powers.

Madison said that the states had a *natural*, but not a *constitutional*, right of secession (pp. 124, 170-71). Mr. Burns asserts that the doctrine of "interposition" set forth in the Virginia Resolutions meant that encroachments by the Federal government upon the states might be corrected through amendments, changing the personnel of Congress, impeachments, and appeals to the Federal judiciary (p. 170). The reader is not told where such an explanation was found.

Madison did not regard the "general welfare clause" as a grant of power, but agreed nevertheless that Congress might go beyond enumerated powers (p. 160). He seems to have been much confused in his thinking about judicial review. According to the author, Madison thought that "Neither the executive nor judiciary should have any right to question an interpretation by Congress of what constitutes legislative authority" (pp. 132, 133, 161, 172). However, he believed in the right of the courts to pass upon the validity of legislation, "especially of the sort that affected private rights" (p. 155). How he could hold the latter view and still be in agreement with Jefferson's conception of the judiciary, as the author says he was (p. 185), is puzzling.

University of Tennessee

JENNINGS B. SANDERS

The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863. Volume I, 1813-1836. Edited by Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1938. Pp. xxi, 526. \$3.25.)

It is perhaps safe to say that the careers of few important individuals in American history have been so extensively treated and at the same time so little understood as has that of Sam Houston. Involved in public affairs almost continuously from the War of 1812 to the Civil War and endowed with a peculiar gift for the type of forceful action and emphatic statement that stimulated controversy, he played a part which made it difficult for those associated with him to assume an attitude of neutrality where he was concerned. One was either his enthusiastic champion or his bitter opponent. As a result, he has been fictionized, dramatized, popularized, and glorified or vilified by numerous biographers, but the field is still open for a scholarly study of his career. Part of the difficulty, of course, has been the impossibility of getting at the materials on which such a biography would have to be based. Much of Houston's personal correspondence either is still in private hands or has been lost, while any effort to locate his official writings carries one from war department files in Washington to local archives in Texas and from early Arkansas newspapers to the *Congressional Globe*. For that reason, the attempt to compile, edit, and publish a complete record of his available writings represents a significant enterprise. The present plans provide for an edition of six volumes, for which the actual work of col-

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lecting and editing is being done by Miss Williams, while Dr. Barker is described in the preface as "an occasional consultant."

Volume I of this work, which is under consideration here, covers Houston's career as a lieutenant in the United States army, as a member of Congress from Tennessee, as governor of Tennessee, as United States Indian agent in the Southwest, as commander-in-chief of the Texas army during the revolution, and the first two months of his term as the first constitutional president of the Republic of Texas. The wide range represented in these activities complicates the problem of obtaining complete information, with the result that one of the most striking features of this volume is the number of gaps which appear in Houston's writings at important points—a shortcoming, by the way, for which the editors should not in any sense be blamed. The paucity of material for his early military activities can be explained by the fact that few people were likely to save the letters of a young lieutenant, if, indeed, he wrote letters. It is unfortunate, however, that the state of Tennessee has neglected to preserve even the official correspondence of a man who served it for four years as congressman and nearly two years as governor; and it is equally unfortunate that members of his family still withhold some of his personal papers from publication or examination, while the attitude of collectors "who will neither sell the originals nor furnish copies" (p. iii) of Houston materials in their possession leads one to wonder why some types of individuals are permitted to flourish.

In general, the documents in this volume are faithfully reproduced, and they are accompanied by a wealth of footnote material, which has been compiled by Miss Williams and which is little short of remarkable for the amount of detailed information furnished concerning individuals. One can only wish, however, that the footnotes themselves had been more carefully edited. Too often they leave the impression of a group of miscellaneous notes simply thrown together instead of being carefully planned. There is much irrelevant information and, frequently, there are obvious signs of confusion in the mind of the editor. The value of these notes for the average user is definitely reduced by many seemingly careless errors of fact on such matters as identification of individuals, dates of service, and other relatively minor points. Typographical errors are numerous and sometimes serious, while occasional awkward and even ungrammatical sentences might also have been eliminated by a careful proofreader.

One wonders why some of the documents should have been copied from newspapers or other indirect sources when the originals were available either in the University of Texas archives or in the state archives. In one case, the same document appears in two slightly different forms with dates exactly one year apart (pp. 298, 445). In another, the attempt to establish November 11 or 12, 1835, as the date of Houston's undated "Resolution to Annul Land Grants" (pp. 306-307) overlooks the fact that the journal of the Permanent Council shows that this resolution was adopted by that body on October 18, 1835. It

was printed in the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, October 26, 1835, and had already aroused a vigorous protest two weeks before November 11.

These defects do not, however, destroy the inherent value of the work as a whole. Its real significance lies in the fact that it brings together in easily accessible form all available Houston documents from both public and private collections, and thus provides a more adequate basis for the scholarly biography which one hopes will some day be written. A distinctive contribution has been made, also, in the discovery of hitherto unknown materials which throw new light on some of the obscure phases of Houston's career. Especially notable are the articles which he published in the *Arkansas Gazette* in 1830 concerning Indian affairs, and the correspondence between him and James Prentiss in 1832 concerning the interests of New York speculators in Texas lands. For this volume, alone, the student of Southwestern history must acknowledge a debt of gratitude to the editors and to the University of Texas for undertaking the enterprise. When the entire work is completed, it will unquestionably become not only an indispensable documentary collection for the study of Houston and of Texas, but also an essential source for the undertaking of many other aspects of American history during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Vanderbilt University

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

John Berrien Lindsley: Educator, Physician, Social Philosopher. By John Edwin Windrow. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Pp. xiii, 240. Illustrations, appendixes, bibliography. \$4.00.)

John Berrien Lindsley was one of Tennessee's most gifted and versatile educators. As a physician, geologist, university president, minister of the gospel, champion of education and public health, European traveler and public speaker, essayist and editor, he led a useful, interesting, and occasionally dramatic life. It was through his leadership that Nashville became an important medical center in the Old and New South. He was instrumental in securing funds for the establishment of George Peabody College, an institution that has given valuable service to the cause of Southern education. In the period after the Civil War his name appears prominently in the campaign to make Tennessee public health conscious, and Nashville's conquest of the cholera peril was the result primarily of his insistence that the city develop a more adequate system of sanitation. Lindsley's life spanned three quarters of the nineteenth century, "a period of stark reality and tragedy" (p. viii). He came face to face with slavery. He saw the railroad and the telegraph come. He enjoyed the social graces of old Nashville and he witnessed the tragic features of the Civil War and Reconstruction period. As a young man he knew Andrew Jackson, as an old man he knew Theodore Roosevelt.

Lindsley's long and varied career offers a splendid opportunity to the historian

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but apparently Mr. Windrow has not taken full advantage of it. His biography does not do justice either to himself or to Lindsley. The book is poorly organized and any attempt at finesse is destroyed by the fact that nearly one fourth of the 163 pages of narrative consists of quotations. Many of these are of doubtful value and a few seem to be almost entirely irrelevant. An example is the quotation on pages 4-5 which describes George Washington. On pages 15-16 an entire letter is quoted but only one brief line at the close of the letter has any direct relationship to the text at that point. It seems unnecessary to quote R. E. Lee's letter to his son Custis (p. 61). One doubts the necessity of quoting Philip Lindsley's 1844 plan for a medical school in Nashville (p. 32) because the plan never went into effect. A reference and a summary would have been sufficient. The long quotation on pages 29-30 is inserted at the wrong place and breaks the continuity of thought. This quotation is puzzling in another respect. It appears to be *one* excerpt and yet different sources are given for the various paragraphs, and quotations within the quotation add to the bewilderment of the reader. There are many other long quotations that should have been digested and worked into a freely flowing narrative.

Several passages show a lack of careful proofreading. For example, on page 27 Mr. Windrow uses a statement by James Phelan but gives L. S. Merriam's *Higher Education in Tennessee* as the source without making it clear that Merriam is quoting Phelan. On page 5 the paragraph beginning "The Lindsleys, who were among the earliest settlers of the New Haven colony," has been made vague either by the omission of important data or the use of incorrect dates. Careful proofreading would have improved the footnotes although a rather unsatisfactory technique has been followed throughout the book.

A study of the appendixes causes one to question the author's thoroughness in the use of his sources. It would seem that the 31 Lindsley publications listed on pages 167-71 and the 225 unpublished editorials on almost as many different topics listed on pages 171-74 could have been used to greater advantage.

With these weaknesses pointed out, it should be said that the book contains hitherto unpublished source material of value to Tennessee historians and that certain sections of the study are interesting and informative. In Chapter V, which describes Lindsley's campaign for public health education, Mr. Windrow has brought together some very interesting facts. William Walker enthusiasts will be attracted by the cycle of Walker letters included in Appendix C and the social historian will be interested in Lindsley's record of his readings as recorded in Appendix F.

The book is attractively bound and a facsimile of Lindsley's signature on the cover adds a unique touch. The illustrations are well chosen. There is a useful, if not complete, index.

Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857. Volumes I and II. Edited by Dwight L. Dumond. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. Pp. xxxvi, xiii, 1189. Illustrations. \$10.00.)

Students of American history owe a debt of gratitude to Professors Dwight L. Dumond and Gilbert H. Barnes for their contributions to the history of the anti-slavery movement. Professor Barnes' scholarly book, *The Antislavery Impulse*, completely upset the orthodox version of the abolition crusade and quite neatly disposed of Garrison as the leader of the abolitionists. He most convincingly replaced the furious personality of Garrison with the quiet, evenly poised Theodore Dwight Weld. He showed that while Garrison and his small group of followers were essentially anarchistic, refusing to participate in political movements, Weld, leading the great hosts of abolitionists, was nearly always active in politics. Indeed the Weld group of abolitionists not infrequently held the balance of power. Soon after the publication of *The Antislavery Impulse*, Dumond and Barnes as joint editors brought out the Weld-Grimké letters on which Barnes had based so much of his work. In the fall of 1938 Professor Dumond extended the horizon of knowledge by the publication of the letters of another great antislavery leader, James G. Birney.

These letters fit into the Weld-Grimké picture perfectly, for they introduce us more fully to many characters who but dimly appeared in that correspondence and to others who did not appear at all. They also, as might well be suspected, show Birney to have been a more able and more important leader in the anti-slavery movement than has been heretofore realized.

Perhaps the fact that Birney was a Southerner and had been a slaveholder added to his influence in that it would appear always that he could speak with authority about slavery. For several years he was a practicing lawyer and planter at Huntsville, Alabama. In 1831 he became an agent of the American Colonization Society and as such was profoundly opposed to the doctrines of the radical abolitionists. Within a short while, however, he became converted to their point of view and during the remainder of his life he advocated without ceasing immediate and uncompensated emancipation of the slaves. Birney even more than Weld was responsible for the abolitionist participation in politics. It will be recalled that Birney was the presidential nominee of the Liberty party in 1844 when that party threw its weight against Henry Clay and prevented him from carrying the state of New York and thus from becoming president.

Professor Dumond has performed his editorial task with precision and with a wide knowledge of men and measures. However, it seems to the reviewer—from the editor's introduction—that his conception of the slavery controversy is lacking in scope and in objectivity. He seems to be carried away with the profound sincerity and deeply religious nature of Birney and his abolitionist colleagues; indeed, one feels that the editor has become a member of the Weld-Grimké-Tappan-Finney Holy Band. He accepts Birney's opinion that the Ameri-

can Colonization Society was a futility without considering the possibility that it might have been the abolitionist attack that made it so. He overlooks as did Birney the probability that the South would have freed its slaves in due time had it been permitted to work out its problems. He either overlooks or deliberately rejects recent historical literature which seems to show that slavery had reached its zenith of power and territorial limits, and that by soil exhaustion its economic foundations were rapidly crumbling before 1860. He ignores the opinion of political leaders like Webster, Douglas, and Clay that slavery could not be further extended. Indeed, the editor seems to have completely failed to comprehend the Southern situation with reference to slavery. By implication he apparently accepts the abolitionist doctrine—so forcefully demonstrated by John Brown—that only the shedding of blood could bring the remission of sins. It is quite apparent that Professor Dumond has never analyzed the propaganda literature of the abolitionists and its profound impact upon public opinion in the North and in the South. He is in error when he says that abolition literature was not read in the South; a careful examination of Southern newspapers, 1831-1860, can leave no doubt that the Southern public was well aware of what was being said about it in the North. It was in reply to this propaganda that the South developed its well-known defense of slavery on Biblical, social, and economic grounds.

Vanderbilt University

FRANK L. OWSLEY

The Other Half of Old New Orleans. Sketches of Characters and Incidents from the Recorder's Court of New Orleans in the Eighteen Forties as Reported in the Picayune. Collected and edited by E. Merton Coulter. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1939. Pp. viii, 108. Illustrations. \$2.00.)

This whimsical and altogether charming little book is made up of sketches selected from the reports of the trials in the Recorder's Court of New Orleans published in the New Orleans *Picayune* during the years 1840-1842. The identity of the newspaper reporter who wrote them is uncertain, but there are reasons to believe that it was George W. Kendall. Certainly the author was a man of education with a keen sense of humor and a remarkable capacity for close observation.

The little volume is divided into seven sections, each headed by an illustration and containing from four to more than a dozen sketches. With rare wit the author depicts the strange characters that appeared in court for trial. These included wild Irish rivermen, brawny Scots, and huge Dutch or German laborers as well as many others mostly brought in for being drunk and disorderly or involved in petty rows and squabbles. The writer shows great skill in his use of the various dialects of this motley crew and an even greater gift in his use of

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The little volume is not only very entertaining but also has a real historical value. The editor will have the sincere thanks of many readers for making available to them such an amusing, and at the same time so revealing, a little book.

University of Oklahoma

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865. By Joseph Cephas Carroll. (Boston: Chapman & Grimes, Inc., 1938. Pp. 229. Bibliography. \$2.00.)

In a well-documented study of slave unrest, Dr. Carroll takes issue with those who would revive the ante-bellum thesis of the slave's docility and childlike dependence on his master. From an interminable sequence of slave insurrections and plots which cover almost every year of the Middle Period, the author indicates some of that individuality and capacity for leadership which inhered in many of the anonymous mass of slaves whose identities were submerged beneath the guise of valuable chattel. The desire for liberty manifested itself in recurrent slave ship mutinies along the Middle Passage, in the colonial plots sometimes hatched with indentured white servants, and in outbreaks, North as well as South, wherever slavery existed. Extraneous events such as the American Revolution, the struggle of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the War of 1812, and finally the Civil War itself created an atmosphere conducive to slave revolts which were occasionally organized across state lines. Sometimes white men, such as George Boxley of Spotsylvania, came forward as precursors of John Brown to spur the slave to revolt. These recurrent outbreaks and rumors of insurrection undoubtedly created a large element of insecurity in the Old South.

Studies of this type must be prefaced with several fundamental cautions. Too much of the evidence rests upon testimony taken under torture for its reliability to go unchallenged. The "faithful slave," who so frequently acted as informer, was subject to the incentive of financial reward, if not freedom itself, for his revelations. The tremendous variations in the reports of identical slave plots given in the contemporary press—which remains the leading source—suggests the possible margin of error. In one instance, at least, the details varied sufficiently for the author to report twice the same insurrection plot—that of the bor-

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der states in 1856 (pp. 191, 192). Here, again, the entire incident is open to question as to whether it was a gigantic slave plot or an example of mob psychology pervading the entire plantation area, with dubious evidence obtained under duress.

The section on slave insurrections during the Civil War is less satisfactorily done than the more thorough, early chapters. The reviewer cannot accept Dr. Carroll's statement that "in 1862 [evidently 1863] a general insurrection of Negroes was planned" by high Federal officers (p. 206) solely on the evidence of a letter by Augustus S. Montgomery of May 12, 1863, which was addressed to Union officers and proposed a large-scale insurrection. Since Montgomery remains unidentified, there is an alternate inference that the letter may possibly be that of a crank rather than that of an influential citizen. One of the more serious sins of omission is the failure to mention the insurrectionary situation in Mississippi during 1863 and again in 1864 when Yazoo City was burned by slaves. Despite these shortcomings, the book is an important pioneer study of slave unrest and furnishes an excellent corrective to romanticist theories.

De Paul University

HARVEY WISH

The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. By Ray Allen Billington. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. xi, 514. Bibliography, illustrations, maps. \$5.00.)

This is a timely book, dealing with a period of religious and false propaganda, one which is unique in American history. Intolerance and bigotry have not always been confined to European states. In America for several decades there were steady, systematic attempts by organized Protestant groups to exterminate Catholicism.

The title "Crusade" is here used in the modern sense, yet frequent passages are found in which voice and pen were abandoned and the sword seized. In the heat of controversy and rabidness of self-belief, blows were struck, and guns, cannon, and the torch used by both sides. The Kensington and Philadelphia riots of 1844 and the Bedini riots in 1853 are examples of the bloody and destructive clashes pictured.

The author seemingly has three main objectives: first, to show the extensive active persecutions of the Catholic faith by various Protestant churches, individually and collectively; second, to cite some of the better known anti-Catholic works of the period; and third, to discuss the various aspects of nativism.

The first objective, that of actual adverse propaganda and active persecution, is well done. Given less space than the third objective, it supplies the title. The bibliography as the author states, is not exhaustive. The reviewer notes that it is largely lacking in those works of an anti-Catholic nature which he has found in private and institutional libraries of the South, and also in those popular novels in which the villains were always Catholics or members of Catholic orders.

der states in 1856 (pp. 191, 192). Here, again, the entire incident is open to question as to whether it was a gigantic slave plot or an example of mob psychology pervading the entire plantation area, with dubious evidence obtained under duress.

The section on slave insurrections during the Civil War is less satisfactorily done than the more thorough, early chapters. The reviewer cannot accept Dr. Carroll's statement that "in 1862 [evidently 1863] a general insurrection of Negroes was planned" by high Federal officers (p. 206) solely on the evidence of a letter by Augustus S. Montgomery of May 12, 1863, which was addressed to Union officers and proposed a large-scale insurrection. Since Montgomery remains unidentified, there is an alternate inference that the letter may possibly be that of a crank rather than that of an influential citizen. One of the more serious sins of omission is the failure to mention the insurrectionary situation in Mississippi during 1863 and again in 1864 when Yazoo City was burned by slaves. Despite these shortcomings, the book is an important pioneer study of slave unrest and furnishes an excellent corrective to romanticist theories.

De Paul University

HARVEY WISH

The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. By Ray Allen Billington. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. xi, 514. Bibliography, illustrations, maps. \$5.00.)

This is a timely book, dealing with a period of religious and false propaganda, one which is unique in American history. Intolerance and bigotry have not always been confined to European states. In America for several decades there were steady, systematic attempts by organized Protestant groups to exterminate Catholicism.

The title "Crusade" is here used in the modern sense, yet frequent passages are found in which voice and pen were abandoned and the sword seized. In the heat of controversy and rabidness of self-belief, blows were struck, and guns, cannon, and the torch used by both sides. The Kensington and Philadelphia riots of 1844 and the Bedini riots in 1853 are examples of the bloody and destructive clashes pictured.

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In the treatment of the third objective the reviewer feels that the author has committed a few errors of fact and of interpretation. "Nativism" is used very frequently as synonymous with "anti-Catholicism." This is not the best historical or dictionary usage. On page 36 this very categorical statement is made, "Fundamentally the aliens were opposed because they were Catholic rather than because they were paupers or criminals." Again he speaks (p. 174) of the Presbyterian church as being "launched on the road to nativism" when a general assembly in 1835 condemned Catholic education of Protestant children.

It is natural that this concept of nativism would lead to a distorted discussion of the Know-Nothing movement. Von Holst, Channing, T. C. Smith, and Rhodes are cited as giving a "traditional interpretation" that the party's growth can be explained in terms of slavery. These should not be interpreted as ignoring the importance of the anti-Catholic and the antiforeign immigration movements. Dr. Billington's explanation of the American party is slavery plus the "Protestant Crusade," thus minimizing and ignoring the third and very vital cause, alarm, fear, and hatred of the political and social evils resulting from the hordes of invading immigrants.

By stating (p. 386) that "the motive behind the whole Know-Nothing movement was hatred of Catholicism," and (p. 387) that "only one force held members of the Know-Nothing party together, and that was their hatred for the Catholic church," the fact is ignored that the American party in several Southern states, notably Louisiana and Maryland, was largely composed of faithful Catholics. In Louisiana rabid Protestant lodges were disbanded. Until the Democratic press and the Hierarchy marshaled their forces of misinterpretation and denunciation, many Catholics supported the party throughout the United States.

Other minor errors mar this portion of the work. Credence given to Charles Gayarré's *Address to the People of Louisiana on the State of the Parties*, the work of an embittered and disappointed officeseeker, results in the erroneous statement that Louisiana withdrew from the national party and maintained a separate organization (p. 422). Again (p. 429), the assertion is made that the American party in 1855 devoted its campaign to "save the union pleas" and not to the American platform. This was certainly not true in the Southern states. The treatment of the organization and ritual of the party is somewhat faulty as evidenced by the statement (p. 384) that the ritual of the organization was composed of two degrees, omitting the third or Union degree.

The appendix contains the constitutions of several Protestant societies as well as an extensive nativistic bibliography. The text includes seven election maps and some nineteen illustrations taken from contemporary anti-Catholic sources. Though slightly pro-Catholic, it is very readable and informative. Scholars in this field will welcome its appearance.

Secession and Restoration of Louisiana. By Willie Malvin Caskey, with foreword by Frank Lawrence Owsley. (University, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1938. Pp. xii, 318. Maps, bibliography. \$3.50.)

A careful study of the early period of reconstruction in Louisiana is long overdue. The work by John R. Ficklen, published posthumously in 1910, can in no way be regarded as a finished piece of work. As Professor Frank L. Owsley states in the preface to this new study, that fact may be fortunate as some material, inaccessible to earlier scholars, has recently become available.

The present volume, after first setting the stage by a brief account of the presidential election of 1860 and of the secession of Louisiana, traces the story of reconstruction from Butler's clumsy, ruthless beginnings through the overthrow of presidential restoration by President Johnson. This first period in the long drawn-out drama in Louisiana constitutes a logical unit.

Dr. Caskey, with considerable logic, regards this period as one of reorganization rather than of reconstruction. He properly interprets the presidential vote of 1860 in this state as morally a vote for the Union, in which secession was not the issue. In the second chapter he insists upon the point that Louisiana was definitely with the Confederacy, once the issue of secession was joined, and shows that there was little real Union sentiment. Chapter VI brings out clearly the extravagance, waste, and disorder in the constitutional convention of 1864 before the Negro had the ballot, showing conclusively that the shameless corruption in the legislatures of a later date cannot be ascribed wholly to that race.

The volume reflects thorough research with access to manuscript and documentary materials, as well as to memoirs, monographs, and the usual printed sources. The author has made especially faithful search through the newspapers of the state, though one could wish that he had given more generous excerpts from this spicy source, either in the text or in the notes.

The author assumes from his readers too great conversance with Louisiana history; he frequently refers to persons, events, or laws without explaining them. The allusion to an act as No. 12 (p. 191), though no exact explanation of the purport of the statute is offered either in text or notes, is a case in point. Noell and Governor Winston are introduced without explanation (Chap. I, n. 8, p. 72). Sometimes the tendency to reduce details leads to too much elision. On page 212 the author states that there is evidence of collusion between the radicals in Congress and a few Louisianians and then contents himself with bare reference, where one might logically look for submission of proof. The absence of cross references is conspicuous. On the other hand, there is considerable minor repetition; facts which have already appeared in the text are restated in the notes or vice versa.

There are some lapses from orthodox style in misplaced clauses. A few cases of careless proofreading occur, as where "senators to the lower house of the

legislature" are to be elected (p. 174), and where 1864 appears although 1861 must be intended (p. 38). One could wish for a somewhat more vivid style in handling the July riot described in Chapter X.

Scattered through the text are nine pen and ink maps to show the way in which the citizens voted on various issues (except Map No. 5, which shows the parishes exempted from Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation). They are distinctly helpful, though the reviewer must point out a discrepancy in Map No. 1. In the text it is stated that Bell carried two parishes in the northern part of the state, Ouachita and Madison, whereas the map indicates Ouachita and Tensas.

On the whole here is a young writer whose work his fellow craftsmen will note. It is a pleasure to welcome another volume from the Louisiana State University Press, which is maintaining a high standard of printing and workmanship.

Goucher College

ELLA LONN

Flight into Oblivion. By A. J. Hanna. (Richmond: Johnson Publishing Company, 1938. Pp. xiii, 306. Maps, illustrations, bibliography. \$2.75.)

Flight into Oblivion: A questionable, "Gone with the Wind" title, chosen for a volume which sketches the fortunes of the Confederate President and his cabinet as they fled southward after the evacuation of Richmond toward the southwest and Texas—a flight later turned into a man-hunt as each individual sought escape from the threatened firing squad or the rope. A long-neglected three months of American history; the last thrilling, dramatic chapter in the epic of the War for Southern Independence. It is the story of the final crumbling of Confederate civil authority, of the disintegration of the funds of the Confederate treasury department, of the thirty-day flight of a President without a country, of the adventures of his official family before their capture or escape.

The volume has much to commend it. The research on the whole has evidently been extensively and carefully accomplished. Much explanatory material has been included, in some cases extending beyond the needs of the narrative. The organization is simple and logical. The evacuation of Richmond is colorfully described and in panoramic succession Danville, Greensboro, and Charlotte have their brief day as capital of a disintegrating Confederate States of America. The flight of the presidential party is graphically described and at Irwinville, Georgia, Jefferson Davis is captured. Then the fortunes of five men are followed, Judah P. Benjamin, Robert Toombs, George Davis, John C. Breckinridge, and Colonel John T. Wood, Confederate naval officer and aide to President Davis, as flight leads them down the east or west coast of Florida or to New Orleans as they execute their escape to Cuba and foreign exile. The book is attractive in format and binding, fifty-seven black and white illustrations lend atmosphere, and fifteen page-size maps illustrate routes taken, adding materially to the value of the work. A well-organized bibliography and index complete the volume.

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Professor Hanna has evidently intended to straddle the book trade by attempting to make the work attractive to both the lay reader and the erudite historian. That the former has been well pleased is evident because of the volume's recent recommendation by the Book-of-the-Month Club. Though staying within the limitations of the sources, the tone of the work seems to indicate at times to the reviewer that the author cannot forget that his forbears have been citizens these hundred years of Florida and of the South. While attempting to settle the perplexing mystery of the disappearance of the Confederate treasure, the final disposition of the \$86,000 "paid to James A. Semple, a bonded officer of the Navy," is not disclosed. The style of the first part of the volume might be termed pleonastic, perhaps for the benefit of adolescent readers. Several monotony-breaking, perhaps imagined descriptions, not quoted from sources, lend a picturesque color to the narrative. Two illustrations will serve. "No sound greeted them other than the swishing of the pines in the light breeze, the hum of the insects, the grunt of 'razor-back' hogs, the occasional 'bob-white' of a distant quail, and the song of the meadowlark" (p. 130-31). And again, "Probably they were not conscious of the ominous hoot of the owls, the eerie cry of the limpkins, the monotonous croak of frogs, or even the lusty, ground-shaking bellow of the bull alligators" (p. 147). And finally, in listing the contents of Davis' trunk and two chests, why not admit that, instead of "eight linen shirts," the citation read "eight linen shirts (dirty)" (*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, Vol. XLII, Pt. III, 653).

Louisiana State University

EDWIN ADAMS DAVIS

35,000 Days in Texas: A History of the Dallas News and Its Forbears. By Sam Acheson. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938. Pp. xv, 337. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

Sam Acheson, editorial writer for the *Dallas Morning News* and biographer of Joe Bailey, must have an affinity for debatable subjects because, in presenting *35,000 Days in Texas*, he has again produced a controversial biography. The subtitle explains that it is the history of the *Dallas Morning News* and its forbears—and although the work deals with a corporate instead of a real personality, it is nonetheless biographical. The book tells a story often repeated in America—the story of success.

It is the history of a journalistic endeavor which claims to be "the oldest business institution in Texas," humbly born in Galveston in 1842, when Texas was an infant Republic, and evolved in slightly less than a century to such a magnificence that its Dallas properties were valued at \$2,725,000. This figure is convincing testimony of its success as a publishing enterprise. There can be no doubt that historically and at present, the *Dallas Morning News* holds high rank in the columns of American journalism. The explanation of this phenom-

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enon may be the confidence of its readers in its reporting, if not in its editorial pages, for its editorial convictions have frequently been at odds with the Texan electorate.

With a fine style Mr. Acheson shows the reader the stage upon which the drama of the *News* has been enacted. It is a full, big, and broad Texas stage, and upon its curtained background are the multiplicity of incidents, activities, and personalities which tend to make the history of the paper a miniature history of Texas.

The first third of the narrative tells of the founding and growth of the Galveston *Daily News*, while the remainder details more fully the activities of the Dallas *Morning News*, struck off from the parent stem in 1885 to become thereby one of the first attempts at "chain journalism" in America.

The book is doubly interesting because it is an authorized history of the Dallas *News*. Mr. Acheson is not unsympathetic with all that the *News* has been and now is, and he is much concerned with describing the independent character of the paper. The management has been always its own supreme arbiter in political, economic, and moral areas, accepting no judgment as superior to its own—a sovereign power within itself—restrained only by the laws of libel. Mr. Acheson says the result has been able, fearless, and conscientious journalism. Yet somehow the reader has not been conducted backstage. Definitely no "state" secrets as to the ultimate "whys" of policy are revealed. The explanations of editorial changes in policy are stated in terms of changes in conditions; consequently, the forces and philosophy motivating the management are not developed, for freedom from restraint might have produced opposites; independence does not necessarily yield any given quantity of anything. Surely extravagant praise might be offered for the paper's fearless independence, but just as surely it has been called "Scribe within the temple of Big Business."

The subject of the Dallas *News* (including its forbears) is axiomatically controversial material in Texas because for nearly a century it has had to react to every issue that has shaped itself in the state. The *News*, therefore, has frequently been a storm center giving and receiving abuse; it has and has always had its advocates; and, on the other hand, there remain thousands of persons who characterize the paper as "the Scarlet Woman of Texas Journalism." As an avowed conserver of civilization, the paper has frequently exhibited a contradictory personality and yet there are those who find a unity in the paper's activities—a close integration of its character with the business man's civilization.

With its traditional editorial anonymity the paper alternately has damned and demanded paternalism in government; been a denouncer of jingoism and demanded a wide imperialism, explained as a broader humanitarianism; proclaimed free silver and apostatized to gold; supported and condemned Baileyism, Fergusonism, and Bryanism.

For decades the editorial pages of the *Dallas News* have concerned themselves with the agrarian problem. A nonpolitical, unitary solution was offered—diversification; but the farmer has always been viewed as inseparably related to both bankers and business men. One farmer-reader's reply was that the *News* was generous enough to let the farmer work out his own salvation—if he could, but it resisted strenuously any ballot box backfire.

The volume presents in splendid short compass the history of the civic, industrial, and physical growth of Dallas, Texas; an account of the *Texas Almanacs*; and the story of the technical advances in typography during the life of the paper. It should be a welcomed addition to any Texana shelf and of interest to any student of American journalism.

North Texas Agricultural College

H. BAILEY CARROLL

Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina Since 1776. By Luther L. Gobbel. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938. Pp. xvi, 251. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

In his introduction to this book, Dean Luther A. Weigle of the Divinity School of Yale University says: "President Gobbel tells this story concretely, yet with objectivity and restraint." The story is that of church-state relationships; and President Gobbel, the teller of the story, is by temperament, training, and experience peculiarly fitted for the task of telling it. He was educated in the elementary and secondary schools of North Carolina, and was graduated from a denominational college. His sympathies are, therefore, well balanced between the two systems. As director of Religious Education for the North Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for more than ten years, he had a fine opportunity to study the educational system of the state from both a secular and religious standpoint. He therefore brings both scholarship and experience to this study.

Perhaps there is no section of the country where church-state relationships can be studied to a better advantage or under better conditions than in North Carolina. Frequently one denomination may be in the ascendancy, and a biased system may result. But in North Carolina there are several large denominations that exercise almost equal control and therefore the system of denominational education will be rather largely in the name of the church as a whole rather than that of a particular religious group.

This study shows how and why the state assumed the task of teaching in the fields of higher education from almost the beginning of statehood. It further shows that the denominations at first patronized and even promoted the work of the University. Later, for reasons presented, the churches undertook the work of higher education on their own behalf, and withdrew their patronage to a great extent from the state system.

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Examples of conflicts and differences are given with an attempt to evaluate the causes and outcomes of such conflicts. Later chapters of the book set forth the struggle of the University of North Carolina to secure appropriations and to increase its educational standards. The crisis that arose when the state-supported and church-supported schools came into sharp antagonism is treated carefully and thoroughly, and some light is thrown upon the philosophy that underlay the whole struggle. The conflict was negligible in the field of secondary education. Here the church used its unrestricted and unstinted efforts in the attempt to secure help for the common schools. The book closes with an encouraging report of the present situation and with examples of fine co-operation between state and church supported schools. President Gobbel tells the story graphically in spite of minute details which had to be given. He shows a fine sense of discrimination in his analyses. He also shows a splendid grasp of the philosophy of education as he evaluates the various phases of this momentous struggle.

One of the most interesting features of this book is the information contained in the footnotes. Here one is furnished insight into the private opinions of distinguished men. Here we have interesting excerpts from the editorials of now forgotten publications which were once important and influential in the state. Personalities long forgotten again voice their opinions on once important subjects in an interesting fashion.

The author's summary of present trends is encouraging. Gone are many of the animosities that once prevailed. Co-operation is manifested between once bitter rivals. Co-operative work between church and state receives a fair trial. The spirit of friendliness prevails.

Both as a source of scholarly information and as a stimulating study, the book is of great value and interest.

Duke University

H. E. SPENCE

American Caste and the Negro College. By Buell G. Gallagher, with a foreword by William H. Kilpatrick. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. Pp. xx, 463. Bibliography, charts, appendixes. \$2.50.)

The Supreme Court's recent decision in the Missouri University Case will no doubt lead Southern states to add graduate and professional instruction to their present Negro colleges. The movement gives special significance to this volume in which President Gallagher of Talladega College, Alabama, examines the function of the segregated Negro college in the South from the point of view of education as a process for changing the social order.

Caste is a negation of democracy and by its conformity, the segregated college, it is felt, has acquiesced in that negation. With some qualification the book accordingly develops the thesis that the Negro college should openly and directly do what it has admittedly been attempting to do since its foundation; namely,

make a serious effort to transform the caste system and to enable its graduates to transcend what, in their own lifetime, they may not transform. This involves a lengthy discussion of the social factors determining caste, of race attitudes, of the necessity of biracial faculties, democratic relations in the college and its community, and the nature of a functional and prophetic education. Nowhere, however, is the reader offered any suggestions nor much hope as to the mitigation of caste.

As in many of the books on educational aims and ideals, there is sometimes little clear-cut demarcation between what ought to be and what is in this world of outmoded curricula and recalcitrant folkways. Except for references to the author's experience at Talladega, the volume draws most of its materials from secondary sources. As a mordant picture of the social pressures affecting the Negro college, the volume makes distinctive contributions.

University of North Carolina

RUPERT B. VANCE

Historical News and Notices

The November, 1939, issue of the *Journal* contained a compilation of "Research Projects in Southern History" which elicited much favorable comment. Believing that such a compilation, if kept up to date, will be of great practical value to historians working in the Southern field, it has been decided to publish annual supplements in each November number as long as responses warrant such procedure. Those who have studies in progress which were not included in the original list are urged to forward the necessary data to the *Journal* office not later than June 1. Several items which arrived too late to make the November, 1938, issue have been kept on file for the first supplement.

PERSONAL

The centennial prize of \$1,500 offered by the Duke University Press for "a scholarly manuscript in the field of social, literary, or artistic history of the United States" has been awarded to Clement Eaton, head of the department of history at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania. The title of Professor Eaton's prize-winning study is "Freedom of Thought in the Old South." The judges in the competition were Arthur M. Schlesinger of Harvard University, Merle E. Curti of Columbia University, and Norman Foerster of the University of Iowa.

Professor Eaton was born at Winston-Salem, North Carolina. He received his undergraduate training at the University of North Carolina, and was awarded the doctorate in history at Harvard University in 1929. He held a Sheldon Traveling Fellowship in Europe from Harvard, and also served as tutor at that institution. Before entering upon his duties at Lafayette College, he taught history at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, and at Clark University. His "Freedom of Thought in the Old South" will be published by the Duke University Press.

The third series of Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History, sponsored by the Graduate School and the Department of History of Louisiana State University, was delivered March 7-9 by Herbert A. Kellar, director of the McCormick Historical Association. The general subject, "Conditioning Factors in Southern Agriculture in the Ante-bellum Period," provided three specific themes for the lecturer: "Cultural Phases," "Technological Aspects," and "Rural Philosophy." At a dinner in his honor, Mr. Kellar discussed informally procedures and experiences in restoring a mill and slave cabin at the McCormick homestead in Virginia.

Duke University announces the following visiting staff in history for the summer session of 1939: first term, Wilfred H. Callcott of the University of South Carolina, Fletcher M. Green of the University of North Carolina, Lawrence F. Hill of Ohio State University, Walter C. Langsam of Union College, Wendell H. Stephenson of Louisiana State University; second term, Oron J. Hale of the University of Virginia, Ludwell L. Montague of Virginia Military Institute, Culver H. Smith of the University of Chattanooga.

Summer school appointments at the University of North Carolina include Frank L. Owsley of Vanderbilt University, first term; Leonard C. Helderman of Washington and Lee University, second term.

Louis B. Schmidt of Iowa State College will give graduate courses in "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1898-1939" and "History of American Agriculture" at the University of Texas during the first term of the summer session. V. Alton Moody, also of Iowa State College, will offer graduate courses in the field of the Old South during the second term.

In the summer session at the University of Missouri, Everett E. Edwards, editor of *Agricultural History*, will offer work in the history of American agriculture, and Burt J. Lowenberg of the University of South Dakota will teach courses in American history.

Other summer session appointments in the historical guild have been called to the *Journal's* attention: J. Carlisle Sitterson of the University of North Carolina to teach at the College of William and Mary; Dan H. Thomas of Temple University to teach at the University of Alabama; Harry E. Barnes to teach at the University of Kentucky; John H. Dupre of the University of Kentucky to teach at West Virginia University, second term; Chase Mooney, candidate for the doctorate at Vanderbilt University, to teach at the University of Mississippi; W. T. Jordan of Judson College to teach at John B. Stetson University; Watt Stewart of Oklahoma A. and M. College to teach at New York State College for Teachers; R. H. Wieneffeld of the University of South Carolina to teach at Johns Hopkins University.

Charles G. Summersell of the University of Alabama is on leave of absence during the current year for work toward the doctorate at Vanderbilt University. J. F. Ramsey, who was on leave during the fall semester for research in Paris on the French Revolution, has returned to the University of Alabama for the second semester.

Charles E. Smith and Paul G. Moorhead, of Louisiana State University, are the authors of *A Short History of the Ancient World*, a recent release of D. Appleton-Century Company.

Announcement has recently been made in Raleigh that the North Carolina

textbook commission has designated Alex M. Arnett's *The Story of North Carolina* as the official text for use in the eighth grade of the state's schools.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

The committee on local arrangements has designated November 2-4 as the date for the fifth annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. As previously announced, the Association will convene in Lexington, Kentucky.

At the regular meeting of the East Tennessee Historical Society on December 3, at Knoxville, the following officers were elected for the year 1939: Joseph A. Sharp, Knoxville, president; W. Flynn Rogers, East Tennessee State Teachers College, Mary R. Campbell, Maryville College, and John P. Brown, Chattanooga, vice-presidents; Laura E. Luttrell, Knoxville, secretary; Lucile Deaderick, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, treasurer; Mary U. Rothrock, Tennessee Valley Authority, and Jennings B. Sanders, University of Tennessee, members of the executive committee. At the same meeting announcement was made of the appointment of the following editors for the annual *Publications* of the Society: Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee, managing editor, and V. M. Queener, Maryville College, editorial associate, for 1939; and Daniel M. Robison, Vanderbilt University, and James W. Patton, Converse College, members of the board of editors for terms of three years.

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society assembled at Daytona Beach, January 24, and at New Smyrna and St. Augustine, January 25. President Joshua Coffin Chase presided at the morning session at Daytona Beach; James D. Glunt of the University of Florida read a paper on "Florida Plantations"; T. E. Fitzgerald, Daytona Beach editor, presented "Some Historical Highlights of Volusia County"; and Philip S. May, Jacksonville attorney, followed with a paper entitled "One of the Most Fit and Discreet Men of the Territory—Zephaniah Kingsley." At the afternoon session two papers of general interest were presented: one by Howard A. Kelley of Johns Hopkins University, "A Brief Account of Randolph Caldecott," and another by William B. Goodwin of Hartford, Connecticut, "The Oldest Community Site in America—Between 874 and 983 A. D." Samuel H. Fisher of Litchfield, Connecticut, addressed the Society's annual dinner on the subject, "Why Two Connecticut Yankees Went South," an account of the background and immediate ancestry of General Edmund Kirby Smith.

On the second day of the meeting, Rev. Joseph T. Daley read a paper entitled "The Old Spanish Mission at New Smyrna Beach" at the mission ruins outside the city. Other places of historical interest in the neighborhood of New Smyrna and St. Augustine were visited, and the convention closed with a dinner at St. Augustine. Marjorie K. Rawlings spoke on "My Use of Florida History Materials," and R. A. Gray, secretary of the State of Florida, described the "Preservation of State Papers and Documents of Historical Value."

The following officers and directors were elected at the annual meeting: A. J. Hanna of Rollins College, president; Mrs. Henry Kohl, Palm Beach, first vice-president; C. Horace Curry, Quincy, second vice-president; Watt Marchman, Rollins College, corresponding secretary and librarian; Herbert A. Kahler, St. Augustine, recording secretary; Dorothy Dodd, Jacksonville, treasurer; Spessard L. Holland, Bartow, and Kathryn T. Abbey, Florida State College for Women, directors at large; C. L. Grow, University of Florida, director from the second district; E. C. Romfh, Miami, director from the fourth district.

A regional meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held at Bradenton and Sarasota, March 10-11.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

A former issue of the *Journal* (May, 1938) announced a project for a co-operative ten-volume history of the South to be sponsored jointly by the George W. Littlefield Fund for Southern History at the University of Texas and Louisiana State University, to be edited by Charles W. Ramsdell and Wendell H. Stephenson, and to be published by the presses of Louisiana State University and the University of Texas. Plans for the history have moved forward, and it is anticipated that publication may begin within two years and be completed within five. Contracts have been signed with authors whose names appear opposite the tentative titles listed below.

1. *The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689*, by Wesley F. Craven, New York University.
2. *The Southern Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, 1689-1763*, by Philip Davidson, Agnes Scott College.
3. *The South in the American Revolution, 1763-1789*, by Philip M. Hamer, The National Archives.
4. *Founding the Southern System, 1789-1819*, by Thomas P. Abernethy, University of Virginia.
5. *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848*, by Charles S. Sydnor, Duke University.
6. *The Growth of Southern Nationalism, 1848-1861*, by Avery Craven, University of Chicago.
7. *The Southern Confederacy, 1861-1865*, by Charles W. Ramsdell, University of Texas.
8. *The South in Reconstruction, 1865-1880*, by E. Merton Coulter, University of Georgia.
9. *The Origins of the New South, 1880-1913*, by C. Vann Woodward, University of Florida.
10. *The Present South, 1913-1940*, by Rupert Vance, University of North Carolina.

A revival of historical activity in Mississippi is indicated by the appearance of the first issue of *The Journal of Mississippi History* (January, 1939), a publication of the Mississippi Historical Society. The magazine is wisely planned, ably edited, and attractively printed. The editorial staff consists of William D. McCain, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, editor; John K. Bettersworth, Mississippi State College, and William B. Hamilton, Duke University, assistant editors; Alfred W. Garner, Mississippi State College, R. A. McLeMORE, Mississippi State Teachers College, Ross H. Moore, Millsaps College, Mary Lou Peyton, Mississippi State College for Women, Percy L. Rainwater, Historical Records Survey, Bell I. Wiley, University of Mississippi, and Wirt A. Williams, Delta State Teachers College, members of the board of editors. The inaugural issue contains three meritorious articles: "The Friendship of John Sharp Williams and Woodrow Wilson," by George C. Osborn; "John Carmichael Jenkins, Scientific Planter of the Natchez District," by Albert Garrel Seal; and "The Sources of History of the Mississippi Territory," by William B. Hamilton. The documents section includes "Mississippi Unionism: The Case of the Reverend James A. Lyon," edited by John K. Bettersworth; and the "Hugh Harris Robison Letters," edited by Weymouth T. Jordan. A creditable book review section completes the first number.

Southern Sketches Number 11 (Charlottesville, Virginia: Green Bookman, Inc., 1938, pp. 39), under the general editorship of J. D. Eggleston, embraces *George Fitzhugh, Conservative of the Old South*, by Harvey Wish. A biographical sketch of Fitzhugh introduces the subject of the brochure, but the emphasis is upon his social and political theories. The author has drawn heavily upon Fitzhugh's books, *Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Society* (1854), *Cannibals All! or, Slaves without Masters* (1857); his pamphlets, as *Slavery Justified* (1850); and his contributions to such magazines as *De Bow's Review*.

The *Annual Report, 1937-38*, of the Hayes Memorial Library at Fremont, Ohio, will be of interest to historical scholars working in the period from 1865 to 1900, and particularly to students of Southern history. Because of Rutherford B. Hayes' liberal attitude toward the South during his quadrennium as president and his interest in the South in the years which followed, the Hayes Papers contain significant material on many aspects of the history of the South. Attention is called to a series of letters published in the documentary section of this issue of the *Journal*, "Slater Fund Beginnings: Letters from General Agent Atticus G. Haygood to Rutherford B. Hayes," edited by Curtis W. Garrison, director of research at the Hayes Memorial Library. The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio, with which the Hayes Memorial is affiliated, has issued in recent years two guides to materials available in the Fremont library: *An Index and List of the Pamphlets and Periodicals Collected by Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (1935), and *An Index and List of the Letters and Papers of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (n. d.).

Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XXII, embraces *In Memoriam: William Kenneth Boyd, January 10, 1879-January 19, 1938* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938, pp. vii, 97, frontispiece, \$1.00). The addresses and compilations were presented at memorial exercises honoring the late Professor Boyd's long service at Trinity College and Duke University. To this series William T. Laprade contributed "Colleague and Friend"; Julian P. Boyd, "Teacher"; Bennett H. Branscomb, "Director of Libraries"; Robert H. Woody, "Collector—The George Washington Flowers Collection"; Robert D. W. Connor, "Historian and Promoter of Historical Studies"; and William B. Hamilton, Jr., "Bibliography of Published Writings."

The mimeographed "Proceedings of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies held at Chicago, Illinois, December 28, 1938," includes a paper on "Southern Historical Agencies—A Program of Action," presented by C. C. Crittenden, director of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

No. 5 Check List of Kentucky Imprints, 1787-1810 (Louisville: The Historical Records Survey, 1939, pp. xxvii, 205), by Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen, is a volume in the American Imprints Inventory Series. A total of 379 items are listed, 328 of which are pamphlets and books and 51 of which are broadsides. Copies of 323 of the items listed have been located, distributed in 103 different collections. Kentucky imprints in the period 1811-1830 will be listed in a companion volume.

The Williamsburg Art of Cookery or, Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion: Being a Collection of upwards of Five Hundred of the most Ancient & Approv'd Recipes in Virginia Cookery (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1938, pp. 276, illustrations, bibliography), by Helen Bullock, is "a typographical Adaptation from [William] Parks' *The Compleat Housewife, or Accomplish'd Gentlewoman's Companion*." In keeping with the spirit of the Williamsburg Restoration, style and format suggest colonial Virginia. The type is old style Caslon, and the ornaments are mainly reproductions of those used by Parks. The compilation of favorite Virginia recipes—for soups and sauces, flesh and fish, pastries and cheese cakes, preserves and pickles, confectionery and cakes, etc., were "collected from Books known to have been used in Virginia Households"—some printed in Virginia and some in England. But "*The best Source of Virginia Recipes proved to be the little handwritten Books kept by early Housewives and cherished by their descendants.*"

The first issue of *The Journal of Politics*, official organ of the Southern Political Science Association, made its appearance in February. The new quarterly magazine succeeds the *Proceedings* of the Association, which appeared annually, 1933-1938. Robert J. Harris of the School of Government, Louisiana State University, is the editor of the *Journal* and Manning J. Dauer of the University of Florida is the managing editor.

The East Tennessee Historical Society is inaugurating the publication of a series of "Special Studies in Tennessee History" to supplement the annual *Publications* of the Society. The first number of the Studies, "Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee Prior to 1840," by Stanley J. Folmsbee of the University of Tennessee, will appear during the spring of 1939.

A series of eight maps illustrating various phases of the history of South Carolina has been compiled by David D. Wallace, professor of history and economics in Wofford College, and issued by Denoyer-Geppert Company. The principal maps deal with "Exploration and Settlement," "Indians," "The Colonial Period," "The Revolution," "The Plantation Era, 1785-1860," "War of Secession," "Agriculture, Manufactures, and Population," and there is also a "Physical Map of South Carolina." Because of the triangular shape of South Carolina, the compiler has been able to include a number of small inset maps covering a variety of subjects, such as Charleston Harbor, the original counties, campaigns of Marion and Sumter, distribution of white and Negro population at various dates, results of the election of 1876, Ku Klux Klan activities, illiteracy statistics, and rainfall distribution. A *Teacher's Manual*, prepared by Professor Wallace to accompany the maps, includes an essay on the origin of the state seal, an explanation of the complicated problem of parishes, election districts, judicial districts, and counties, a list of counties whose names have been changed at one time or another, a brief essay on the physical features of the state, and a list of the county seats and their elevations above sea level.

The University of Arkansas Library has secured a file of the London *Times*, 1870-1921 (199 volumes), and also *Palmer's Index to the Times Newspaper*, 1872-1922. The University's Museum has secured a grant of \$115,000 from WPA for archaeological excavations. Professor S. C. Dellinger, curator of the Museum, plans to make a survey of the whole state, looking for burial grounds and village and mound sites. The finds will be left with the University Museum. This work will be a continuation of a project begun ten years ago.

The Library of the University of Chattanooga has recently been given a hundred volumes of American history and biography by George Fort Milton. The books represent a portion of the library which Mr. Milton collected in writing *The Age of Hate* and *The Eve of Conflict*, and among them are many exceedingly rare and valuable works on Southern history.

A new \$350,000 library building is being erected on the University of Chattanooga campus. Built partially by WPA funds, the building will house not only the University Library but also that of the city and county as well, giving the necessary space for the rapidly growing collections of each. Two library staffs will continue to be used, and the libraries will be separate within the same building. Completion is expected by the opening of the fall semester of 1939.

The Oklahoma Historical Society has acquired a complete file of the *Oklahoma News*, 369 volumes; the archives of the G. A. R. post of Sapulpa, Oklahoma; several hundred letters from the Oklahoma Baptist Headquarters written thirty years ago; transcripts of missionary letters written in the 1870's and relating to activities among Oklahoma Indians.

The Virginia Historical Society has recently acquired photostatic copies and copies of original letters relating to the Farrer-Collett families; 23 bound volumes of the *Richmond State*; a large collection of original letters and papers of the Preston family.

The Department of History at the University of Kentucky received a special grant of \$1,000 for the purchase of books for its collection. The University has also provided a portion of the Haggin Fund for University publications, a part of which will be used each year for the publication of monographs in Kentucky history.

Among recent acquisitions of the University of Alabama Library are the complete records of the Shelby (Alabama) Iron Works from 1859 to 1915. These not only give a cross section view of the iron industry in Alabama, but also contain a great deal of correspondence between the officials of the company and the Ordnance Bureau of the Confederacy. They throw much light upon the problems that faced General Gorgas and Colonel St. John. The Library has also acquired the Robert Jemison Papers, valuable in connection with the plantation history of Alabama, the stagecoach business, and the building of the Alabama Great Southern Railway. Bound volumes of the *Mobile Register* from 1865 to the present have also been added to the Library's collection.

The records of the Confederate post office, treasury, and war departments, and the military and congressional records of the Confederacy, seized at the close of the war, have been deposited in The National Archives. Records of the Southern Claims Commission, 1871-1880, have been transferred from the treasury department.

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

"Carter Berkeley, An Old Virginia Doctor," by Frances Berkeley Young, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January).

"Reverend Dr. John Clayton and His Early Map of Jamestown, Virginia," by C. A. Browne, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (January).

"The Colonial Churches of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, Virginia," by George C. Mason, *ibid.*

"America's 'Multicaulis Mania,'" by Elizabeth H. Ryland, *ibid.*

"Three Rectors of Hungar's Parish and their Wife," by Mrs. P. W. Hiden, *ibid.*

"Captain Cameron and Sergeant Champe," by William B. McGroarty, *ibid.*

"Literary Tastes in Virginia before Poe," by Richard B. Davis, *ibid.*

"The Hillsman House," by W. R. Turner, *ibid.*

"The Plank Road Movement in North Carolina," I, by Robert B. Starling, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January).

"A History of Kentucky Literature since 1913," by John W. Townsend, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (January).

"Guardian of Kentuckiana . . . R. C. Ballard Thruston," by Marion Porter, *ibid.*

"The Saxon Immigration to Missouri, 1838-1839," by P. E. Kretzmann, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (January).

"Portraits of Daniel Boone," by Roy T. King, *ibid.*

"The War of 1812 on the Missouri Frontier," II, by Kate L. Gregg, *ibid.*

"Historic Sites Around Anadarko," by C. Ross Hume, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (December).

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE UPPER SOUTH

"James Glen's Will," contributed by E. Katherine Anderson, in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (January).

"Notes from the Records of Stafford County, Virginia, Order Books," continued, *ibid.*

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"Montgomery County's Revolutionary Heritage," continued, by Ruby A. Roberts, *ibid.*

"Marriage License Records of Northumberland County, Virginia, from 1735 to 1795," listed and arranged by Lillian A. Hatton, *ibid.*

"Bevill or Beville Family," by Agnes B. V. Tedcastle, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (January).

"A North Carolina Citizen on the Federal Constitution, 1788," edited by Julian P. Boyd, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January).

"Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Polk," edited by Elizabeth G. McPherson, *ibid.*

"Notes on One of the Early Ballard Families of Kentucky, Including the Ballard Massacre," by Margaret M. Bridwell, in the *Filson Club History Quarterly* (January).

"Some Letters of Isaac Shelby," edited by James A. Padgett, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (January).

"Kentucky Marriages and Obituaries," continued, compiled and edited by G. Glenn Clift, *ibid.*

- "James Harrod's Estate: Kentucky Prosperity in 1793," by Ila E. Fowler, *ibid.*
- "Clay and California Statehood," by Robert J. Parker, *ibid.*
- "The Will of Judge John Graham, of Floyd County, Kentucky," edited by Willard R. Jillson, *ibid.*
- "Letters of George Caleb Bingham to James S. Rollins," VI, edited by C. B. Rollins, in the *Missouri Historical Review* (January).

ARTICLES ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Radical Disfranchisement in South Carolina (1867-68)," by William A. Russ, Jr., in the *Susquehanna University Studies* (January).
- "Bourbonism in Georgia," by C. Vann Woodward, in the *North Carolina Historical Review* (January).
- "The Great Savannah Fire of 1820," by E. Merton Coulter, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (March).
- "Causton's Bluff, Deptford, Brewton Hill: Three Allied Plantations," by Savannah Unit, Federal Writers' Project, *ibid.*
- "Georgia Archaeology with Especial Reference to Recent Investigations in the Interior and on the Coast," by Charles C. Harrold, *ibid.*
- "The Military Occupation of British West Florida, 1763," by C. N. Howard, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "The Disston Land Purchase," by T. Frederick Davis, *ibid.*
- "DeBrahm's Report on East Florida, 1773," by Carita D. Corse, *ibid.*
- "John Carmichael Jenkins, Scientific Planter of the Natchez District," by Albert G. Seal, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (January).
- "The Sources of History of the Mississippi Territory," by William B. Hamilton, *ibid.*
- "The Interval of Military Government in West Florida," by C. N. Howard, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "Jacobinism in Spanish Louisiana, 1792-1797," by Ernest R. Liljegren, *ibid.*
- "Shadow over the City," by John S. Kendall, *ibid.*
- "The History of Carrollton," by William H. Williams, *ibid.*
- "Joaquin Miller in New Orleans," by Arlin Turner, *ibid.*
- "The First Cattle in Texas and the Southwest: Progenitors of the Longhorns," by J. Frank Dobie, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (January).

DOCUMENTS AND COMPILATIONS ON THE STATES OF THE LOWER SOUTH

- "Colonel Joseph Glover and His Descendants," compiled by William L. Glover, in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (January).

- "Journal of Gen. Peter Horry," continued, edited by A. S. Salley, *ibid.*
- "Copy of Some Loose Pages Found among the Manigault Papers, in the Hand Writing of Dr. Gabriel Manigault, October 25, 1888," contributed by Mabel L. Webber, *ibid.*
- "The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1765-1775," continued, contributed by Mabel L. Webber, copied by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette of Charleston, S. C.," continued, contributed by Elizabeth H. Jervey, *ibid.*
- "Papers Relating to the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1784-1800," X, edited and translated by D. C. Corbitt, in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* (March).
- "Old Canoochee Backwoods Sketches," V, by Julia E. Harn, *ibid.*
- "The Panton, Leslie Papers: Letters of Edmund Doyle," III, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "Mississippi Unionism: The Case of the Reverend James A. Lyon," edited by John K. Bettersworth, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (January).
- "The Reply of Peter Chester, Governor of West Florida, to Complaints Made against His Administration," edited by James A. Padgett, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "The Schism of 1805 in New Orleans," edited by Stanley Faye, *ibid.*
- "Rabbi James Koppel Guttheim," by Leo Shpall, *ibid.*
- "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," LXXVIII, by Heloise Cruzat, marginal notes by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "Index to the Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana," LX, by Laura L. Porteous, marginal notes by Walter Prichard, *ibid.*
- "Colonel J. K. F. Mansfield's Report of the Inspection of the Department of Texas in 1856," continued, edited by M. L. Crimmins, in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (January).

GENERAL AND REGIONAL ARTICLES AND COMPILATIONS

- "Walter Lynwood Fleming: Southern Scholar," by Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (January).
- "Race Consciousness as Reflected in the Negro Press," by T. G. Standing, in the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* (December).
- "Sir Joseph de Courcy Laffan's Views on Slavery," by Margaret R. H. Cocke, in the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* (January).
- "The Relationship of Florida Archaeology to That of Middle America," by Doris Stone, in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "The Confederate Baggage and Treasure Train Ends its Flight in Florida: A Diary of Tench Francis Tilghman," edited by A. J. Hanna, *ibid.*

- "Chief Samuel Checote, with Sketches of Chiefs Locher Harjo and Ward Coachman," by John B. Meserve, in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* (December).
- "The Chickasaw Threat to French Control of the Mississippi in the 1740's," by Norman W. Caldwell, *ibid.*
- "The Friendship of John Sharp Williams and Woodrow Wilson," by George C. Osborn, in the *Journal of Mississippi History* (January).
- "Hugh Harris Robison Letters," edited by Weymouth T. Jordan, *ibid.*
- "Miami University, Calvinism, and the Anti-Slavery Movement," by James H. Rodabaugh, in the *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "Hennepin's Voyage to the Gulf of Mexico, 1860," by Jean Delanglez, in *Mid-America* (January).
- "The Robert Cavalier de la Salle Monument at Lachine, Canada: The Famous Explorer, Idealist and Realist," by André Lafargue, in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* (January).
- "Two Unpublished Letters of Jefferson Davis," edited by Alfred P. James, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (March).
- "Daugherty: A Complete Index to and Abstract of the Name and Variations of the Spelling in the Virginia Land Office at Richmond," compiled by C. B. Heinemann, in the *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* (January).
- "A True Story of the Old South: Notes from a Confederate Diary," edited by C. H. Brannon, *ibid.*
- "An Illinois State Agent in Washington: The Activities of Harry Dewitt Cook, 1865-1871," by Robert D. Ocks, in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* (December).

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NUMBER I

Leading articles in the first issue are as follows:

"What is a Political Theory?"

George H. Sabine, *Sage School of Philosophy, Cornell University.*

"The President as Administrative Chief"

Edward S. Corwin, *Princeton University.*

"Research and Public Action"

George A. Shipman, *Duke University.*

"Administrative Reorganization: An Adventure into Science and Theology"

Charles S. Hyneman, *Louisiana State University.*

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